

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MANUSCRIPT 93  
AN ANNOTATED EDITION OF SELECTED DEVOTIONAL TREATISES  
WITH A SURVEY OF PARALLEL VERSIONS

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## ABSTRACT

Edinburgh University Library MS. 93 (Ed), hitherto unedited, is a collection of devotional (didactic, pastoral, meditative) treatises and Wycliffite scriptural fragments dating from the first half of the fifteenth century.

The treatises selected for editing are representative of the content, textual complexity, and biblical and patristic sources of the manuscript as a whole. The treatises edited are 'The Ten Commandments' (two versions); 'The Three Goods'; 'The Four Errors'; 'Of Lords and Husbandmen'; 'Meditation I of St. Anselm'; and 'The Stathel of Sin'. Ed is the base text for these editions, and the critical apparatus accompanying them provides all substantive variants from all known extant copies of the treatises. The edited texts are followed by interpretative notes and biblical and patristic commentaries. The textual variation among the copies of each treatise is fully considered in a separate discussion preceding the treatise. Those treatises which were not selected for editing have been included in this thesis as transcriptions; among the transcriptions are the Emendatio Vitae of Richard Rolle, and Wyclif's Sermon 'The Eight Blessings of Christ', and his tractate 'The Sixteen Conditions of Charity'. Thus this thesis contains, either as edited text with critical apparatus or as transcription, the entire manuscript.

In addition to the editions, transcriptions, and textual discussions, I attempt in the general introduction to place Ed in its literary and historical context. I also consider the various extant manuals of instruction and the arrangement of their texts, and I suggest, in conclusion, that for Ed there is a discernible pattern in the arrangement.

Rounding out the thesis are various appendices, one of which is a textual introduction to and edition of 'The Three Arrows' which although not in Ed is relevant to the understanding of certain aspects of Ed. I have also provided a chart of affiliated manuscripts and shared treatises.

be fed in ye w<sup>th</sup> hem & prayse ye with he  
 pat & withouten ende ioy in ye : With  
 all so pat loueth y<sup>r</sup> name ihu amen  
 Here biurneth a trectise pat is pe  
 stable of synne **aw//aw//aw**

**I**f you couetist to be made  
 clene in soule as it may be  
 here in pis life of all pe sta-  
 ble of synne. ye whiche will alway lene  
 in ye afur y<sup>r</sup> confessyon be you new bi-  
 sh. so p<sup>r</sup> y<sup>r</sup> maist by pat clenes be made  
 able to resseyue pe speciall gre of god  
 in enuoyngte of y<sup>r</sup> pfection y<sup>r</sup>an biho-  
 uoth ye a certeyn tyme nyght by nyght  
 or day by day w<sup>th</sup> mounyngte as. as ye  
 thynketh it dooth ye good in some puer  
 place by y<sup>r</sup> fles. & ye cradde to gedw.  
 ye myghtes of y<sup>r</sup> soule and specially y<sup>r</sup>  
 mynde in biholdyngte of y<sup>r</sup> wrechid ly-  
 uynge sayng yus with hert or with  
 mouthe or with boithe to gedw. if ye  
 boipe list. And if ye thynketh it dooth ye



**VOLUME I**  
**Selected Treatises**

## PREFACE

In this preface I wish to explain, in general terms, what this thesis is about, and to give the reader an overview of it, for there is some danger of over-emphasis, or, worse, distortion, in presenting editions of selected texts from some one manuscript. My reasons for selecting the texts that I do are set out in the section on editorial method; ideally I would have preferred to edit all of the texts, but time has not allowed me this luxury. I have attempted in this thesis to do justice to the manuscript as a whole, but I am also aware of the fact that various parts of this thesis are relentlessly textual, and that the literary and religious aspects have been confined, for the most part, to the notes: I can only hope that the introduction retrospectively restores the balance.

This thesis is both an edition and a survey of late fourteenth and early fifteenth century devotional treatises. I have selected and edited, and provided introductions for the following six devotional treatises found in (Ed) Edinburgh University Library MS. 93: 'The Ten Commandments' (two versions), 'The Three Goods', 'The Four Errors', 'Of Lords and Husbandmen', 'Meditation I of St. Anselm', and 'The Stathel of Sin'. These treatises are representative of the content, textual complexity, and sources of the manuscript as a whole. I have also provided a transcription

of the remainder of the manuscript; among the better known texts transcribed are a version of Misyn's translation of Richard Rolle's Emendatio Vitæ, and an abridged version of John Wyclif's sermon 'The Eight Blessings of Christ'. In addition to the edition-transcription of Ed, I have also re-edited the fairly popular treatise 'The Three Arrows', which although not in Ed is relevant to our understanding of Ed's wider textual relationships and the kinds of sources tapped by the writers of devotional treatises.

In the introductory survey of devotional treatises, I look at the various manuscripts related (in differing degrees) to Ed, and I suggest that a useful way of studying these manuscripts is to consider them as codices (or books) which were compiled with manuals of instruction as their core. There is, of course, great variety in, and among, these devotional-instructional compilations, but as I attempt to show with Ed, there is good reason for believing that the arrangement of texts in at least one of these compilations proceeded according to a plan, or design, and that the resultant compilation attempted to offer its reader both in content and through its structure a practical path to a more detailed and self-transcendant knowledge of God.

I wish to thank my supervisors and friends, and the various institutions for support and many kindnesses over the past four years. To Professor Angus McIntosh I am extremely grateful. He has been my teacher and guide, and he has given freely of his insights, criticism and encouragement. I am also greatly in debt to Mr. John Ellis for his constant help and friendship. To him I owe much of my knowledge of medieval literature and thought. I also wish to thank Mr. Michael Benskin, my astringent critic and friend: he has read and commented on various parts of this thesis. We have spent many evenings discussing certain methodological problems, and his influence on my work has been to me, in retrospect, considerable. I would like to express my thanks to Mr. E.P. Wilson who first suggested that Ed needed editing. I have been extremely fortunate in my typists: Miss Eve Lendrum carried the burden of typing accurate copies of both the fair copy and the final copy of this thesis, and she did so cheerfully. I also want to thank Mrs. Alison Bowers for typing the transcriptions.

It is my pleasure to thank the staffs of the British Museum (now Library), Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library and the librarians and staffs of the various Cambridge colleges, and the Keeper of Manuscripts in Glasgow University Library for their generous assistance. I am particularly grateful to Mr. C.P. Finlayson, Keeper of Manuscripts, and his assistant Miss M.H. Robertson,

of the Edinburgh University Library for their cheerful and attentive help.

My research in the University of Edinburgh was made possible by an educational grant from the United States of America Veterans Administration and the award of the James Boswell Scholarship by the Faculty of Arts, University of Edinburgh.

I am very grateful to my wife Sharon. She has read, or listened to, every word of this thesis, and she has suggested numerous changes. For the completion of this thesis I have her to thank: she has been my friend and the restorer of my sometimes dwindling will.

## **A Note on Certain Editorial Conventions**

**I have broken several typographical-notational rules, or conventions, in the writing of this thesis, and as my conventions may cause some confusion at first, it is ~~best~~ that the reader be forewarned.**

**(i) For aesthetic reasons and clarity of presentation I have not (save for the 'Abstract', 'Preface' and exceptions noted below) placed the title of a treatise or tract within single quotation marks.**

**Exceptions: (a) I have used single quotation marks for titles or incipits taken directly from a catalogue entry.**

**(b) I have used single quotation marks for titles of treatises or tracts when these titles differ from those used in this thesis, or when the titles occur in a quotation taken from another thesis, article, book, or letter.**

**(ii) The British Museum referred to in this thesis is now the British Library. When I began the thesis, and organized my references, the British Library, as such, was not yet existent. Rather than change my reference system (and thus allowing the possibility of confusion to arise) I chose to stay with my British Museum (B.M.) references.**

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Edinburgh University Library MS. 93 (olim Laing 140)<sup>1</sup> (Ed)

2<sup>o</sup>f. men þat prayen hym not deuoutely

ff. i + 103 + iii. Fly-leaves and pastedowns are blank paper.

Dimensions: 6 1/4" X 4 1/4". Written space c. 4" X 2 5/8".

22 long lines per page.

Collation: a<sup>6</sup>, b<sup>8</sup>-d<sup>8</sup>, e<sup>7</sup> (wants 8), f<sup>8</sup>-m<sup>8</sup>, n<sup>7</sup> (wants 8), o<sup>3</sup>.

Pagination: 17th century.

Hand: Secretary book-hand with elements of Textura and Anglicana. Blue initials (3 line) with red ornament.

Binding: 17th century (rebound and new back supplied 1977).

Date: Dr. A.I. Doyle (letter of 24 November, 1974) suggests a dating after 1430, but perhaps before 1450.

Provenance: English, but contains no evidence of contemporary ownership. The signatures of Thomas Awdeley 1668 (f. 2<sup>r</sup>) and J. Ames (ff. 1<sup>r</sup> and 100<sup>r</sup>) appear, the latter adding a comment on the biblical texts before his name: 'I take to be WICKLIF'S translation. J. Ames'; he has also annotated f. 100<sup>r</sup> as 'II Peter. I. 5-9.' and f. 103<sup>v</sup> '16 Mark 11 V. to end'. As the gospel portion of Mark is now incomplete we can only assume that at the time of Ames's possession the entire gospel was intact.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Catherine R. Borland, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediæval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library (Edinburgh, 1916), 149-150.

<sup>2</sup> For Joseph Ames the bibliographer and antiquary see D.N.B. i, 353-355. Miss Borland suggests that Thomas Awdeley may have been a descendant of Lord Chancellor Audley (1488-1544), for whom see D.N.B. i, 723-726. However, with equal probability Thomas Awdeley may have been a descendant of John Awdeley (1559-1577) 'a London printer and miscellaneous writer.' D.N.B. i, 748.

## Contents:

1. ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>

## The Ten Commandments (Rhetorical Version)

[wants beginning and possibly end;

leaves misbound: the proper order should be 2<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>, 1<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>, etc.

See the introduction to The Ten Commandments in this thesis, and the preliminary discussion of the arrangements of text and variants.]

Begins [as bound]: his heste whi lyers,  
for þei haten

Ends [as bound]: glosers and fals  
questioners breken

[For printed versions close to that of Ed see: A. Kellogg and E. Talbert, eds., 'The Wyclifite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments, with special reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library', B.J.R.L. xlii (1960), 371-376, hereafter Kellogg and Talbert; and C.F. Bühler, 'The Middle English Texts of Morgan 861', P.M.L.A. lxix (1954), 688-692.]

2. f. 1<sup>r-v</sup>

# Table of Contents

Begins: Here bigynneth a table þat  
telliþ how many maters ben in  
;is boke

Ends: [17th century hand] A Treatise  
of Sinne [Table of Contents does  
not refer to concluding (ff. 100<sup>r</sup>-  
103<sup>v</sup>) biblical passages.]

3. f. 4<sup>r</sup>

Prologue to The Ten Commandments [incom-  
plete at beginning]

Begins [incomplete]: by eny maner wey  
and crist seiþ

Ends: hestys & þei be not greuouþ nor  
heuyþ.

[For a printed edition, see Kellogg and  
Talbert, p. 371.]

4. ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>

## The Ten Commandments (Mixed Version)

Begins: Here bygynneth þe ten  
commaundmentis of god þat eche  
man must kepe. God hym self  
spake all þis wordes

Ends: virgynes & all holy men and women  
have taught vs trewly to heuen.

[See Check-List, p. 61, item A.1  
(b); for full reference see  
item 5, below.]

5. ff. 10<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>r</sup> The Seven Deadly Sins

Begins: Here sueth þe seven deedly synnes.  
Pride Enuye & wrath bene synnes  
of þe fende

Ends: moste loue and moste worship þat  
myght doo to Thesu criste.

[See P.S. Jolliffe, A Check-List of Middle  
English Prose Writings of Spiritual  
Guidance (Toronto, 1974), 83-84, item F.21  
(a-b), hereafter referred to as Check-List.]

6. ff. 15<sup>r</sup>-16<sup>r</sup> The Five Bodily Wits

Begins: Here folowith þe .v. bodely  
wittis. HEryng. seyrng.  
Smellyng. Taastyng & Towchyng.

Ends: is forfendith hym by goddis lawe  
an reasone.

[See Check-List, p. 75, item D.9.]

7. ff. 16<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>

The Five Ghostly Wits

Begins: Here suen þe fyue gostely  
wittis. UNdirstondyng, mynde,  
I wil, ymaginacion & resone

Ends: who so sueth reson he goeth not  
amys.

8. ff. 18<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>r</sup>

The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost (A  
Version)

Begins: Here sueth þe .vii. yeftis of  
þe holigoste. Wisdome.  
vndirstondyng. Counseil.  
Strenkeþ. kunnynge

Ends: or vnabliþ hym to þe yeftis of  
þe holy goost.

9. f. 22<sup>fv</sup>

Six Manners of Consent to Sin

Begins: Here suen. six maner consentis  
to synne. He consentith þat  
helpith to doo a wikked deed.

Ends: and he þat stertith abak for  
to reprehende it.

[See Check-List, p. 82, item F.11.]

10. ff. 22<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>v</sup> The Eight Blessings of Christ  
 Begins: Here sueth þe eist blessyngys  
 of crist in þe gospel of  
matthew .5°. Thus bene þe .viii.  
 blessynges of crist  
  
 Ends: to tel goddis law & his will.  
  
 [The longer version of this (MS. Bodley  
 788) is printed in Thomas Arnold, ed.,  
Select English Works of John Wyclif (Oxford,  
 1869), 1, pp. 406-412. For the other  
 extant manuscripts of this sermon see  
 Ann Hudson, 'Contributions to a Bibliography  
 of Wycliffite Writings', N. & Q. ccxviii  
 (1973), 451.]

11. ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup> The Three Goods  
 Begins: Off thre maner goodis. Iff þou  
 haue godis of grace as vertues  
  
 Ends: preuely bryngeth in deeth to  
 mannes soule. Amen.  
  
 [See Check-List, p. 109, item I.19.]



12. f. 27<sup>rv</sup>

The Seven Sacraments

Begins: Here sueth þe seven sacramentis.  
Baptym is þe first sacrament þat  
maketh man

Ends: for alegeance of peyne in body  
and soule.

13. ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>

Four Needful Things

Begins: Here sueth four nedefull thyngys  
to eche man. First is þat he  
must here

Ends: Ihesu for his holy name, AmeN.

[See Check-List, pp. 105-106, item I.9.]

14. ff. 28<sup>r</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>

The Four Cardinal Virtues

Begins: Here bigynneth þe .iiiij. cardynall  
vertues. TEmperance. Prudence.  
Rightwisnes

Ends: biheueth hath sufficient strenkeþ.

[See Check-List, p. 69, item G.22.]

15. ff. 36<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>

The Sixteen Conditions of Charity

Begins: Here bigynneth þe xvj

condicions of charite declarid.

Bit siþen clothyng of þis lous

Ends: [incomplete] wit who went a mys.

[For a printed edition (New College, Oxford MS. 95) see F.D. Matthew, ed., The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, E.E.T.S. O.S. lxxiv (1880), 353-355. See, also, Check-List, pp. 85-86, item G.4 (a-f).]

16. ff. 38<sup>r</sup>-79<sup>v</sup>

The Twelve Chapters of Perfection of

Richard Hampole. [Emendatio Vitae]

Begins: Here sueth .xii. chapitours of

perfeccion of Richard hampolle

drawynge. The first is: how

wicked men shuld.

Ends: þe worldis of worldis. Amen.

[For a printed edition of a version (Misyn's translation, Corpus Christi College, Oxford MS. 236) close to that of Ed, see R. Harvey, ed., The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life, or The Rule



19. ff. 81<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>

## The Eight Tokens of Meekness

Begins: Here bigynneb þe .viij. tokens  
of mekenes whereby euery man and  
woman may be knowen and seen.

The first tokyn is þis, þat he  
hath none

Ends: his bileue amonge all þe children  
of israel.

[See Check-List, pp. 87-88, item G.12.]

20. ff. 82<sup>v</sup>-83<sup>v</sup>

## The Sixteen Tokens of Love

Begins: Here bigynnyth six [sic] tokenes  
of loue. If þou louest þi  
frende, bizely

Ends: trauaile besily til he haue hem.

[See Check-List, p. 88, item G.14.]

21. ff. 83<sup>v</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>

## The Four Errors

Begins: Here sueth þe four errouris of  
yuel lyuyng. If eny man semyth  
eny parte

Ends: doith þe wil of god dwellith  
withouten ende.

[See Check-List, pp. 82-83, item F.13.]

22. ff. 85<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>r</sup> The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost  
(B Version)

Begins: The .vij. yiftis of þe holy  
goste. The first makith low  
hiȝe hertis

Ends: To þe namely þat ben rauyshyd  
in contemplacion.

23. f. 87<sup>rv</sup> The Magnificat

Begins: Magnificat anima mea dominum  
MI soule magnyfieth þe lorde

Ends: in to worlides of worlides. AmeN.

[For a printed edition close to this  
(from B.M. MS. Harley 2343) see W. Maskell,  
'Appendix to the Prymer', Monumenta  
Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicane (London,  
1846), 235. Maskell's folio reference is  
incorrect: for fol. 2 read ff. 95<sup>v</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>.]

24. ff. 87<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>r</sup> Of Lords and Husbandmen

Begins: Here suen how lordis &  
husbondmen shulde teche goddis ....  
All myghty god in trinite

Ends: austyn, þe glorious doctor of  
holy chirche.

[See Check-List, p. 104, item I.1.]

25. ff. 90<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup> Meditation I of St. Anselm

Begins: Here bigynneth þe meditacions  
of seynt anselme. My life  
terith me sore, for I serche it

Ends: all þe þat loueth þi name Ihesu,  
Amen.

[For a printed edition of this (from  
University College, Oxford MS. 97) see  
C. Horstman, ed., Yorkshire Writers:  
Richard Rolle of Hampole and his  
followers (London, 1896), ii, 443-445.  
For the Latin critical text, see  
St. Anselm, 'Meditatio I', S. Anselmi  
Opera Omnia, ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburgh,  
1946), iii, 76-79.]

26. ff. 95<sup>v</sup>-100<sup>r</sup> The Stathel of Sin

Begins: Here bigynneth a tretice þat  
is þe stabile of synne. Iff þou  
couetist to be mayde clene

Ends: whome þou has bought with þi  
precious blode, Amen.

[For a printed edition of this (from  
University College, Oxford MS. 97) see

C. Horstman, Yorkshire Writers, ii  
441-443. See, also Check-List, p. 109,  
item I.18.]

27. f. 100<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>r</sup> Biblical Passages from 2 Peter,  
2 Corinthians, and James  
[2 Pet 1, 5-9] Begins: SEynt petir  
seyth þat we shulden

Ends: shalbe mynistrid to vs  
plenteuously.

[2 Cor. vi, 1-7] Begins: Here bigynneth  
þe vi chapitour of poule to þe  
Corinthis. NUT we helpynge  
monesheth

Ends (incomplete): armurys of rightwisnes  
of þe right.

[Jas. iv, 1-17] Begins: WHerof bene batels  
and che'e'stis amonge yow

Ends: it is syn to hym þat can doo good  
and doith not.

[For the above passages see the Later  
Version of the Wycliffite Bible, eds.  
J. Forshall and F. Madder, (Oxford, 1850),  
iv.; see bibliography for full reference.]

28. ff. 102<sup>r</sup>-103<sup>r</sup>

The Sacrament: biblical passages  
describing the Last Supper [Matt. xxvi,  
26-29; Luke xxii, 14-16; I Cor. xi,  
23-24]

Begins: Here sueth of þe sacrament.  
And while þei soupiden ihesu  
toke

Ends: dispose oþer thynges whan I come.

[For the above passages see the Later  
Version of the Wycliffite Bible.]

29. f. 103<sup>v</sup>

The Gospel of Ascension Day [Mark xvi,  
14-20]

Begins: The gospell of þe ascension  
day. Whan þe eleuen disciplis  
saten at þe mete

Ends (incomplete): wrought with hem  
and confermyd þe

[For the above passage see the Later  
Version of the Wycliffite Bible.]



## INTRODUCTION

This introductory essay contains three interconnected parts. The first part is an attempt to place Edinburgh University Library MS. 93 (Ed) in its literary and historical setting, and involves a brief discussion of the historical background of vernacular manuals of religious instruction and the various doctrinal items which constitute these manuals.

The second part begins with a suggestion that manuals of instruction might be more profitably studied within the context of the codex in which they are found rather than as independent texts. Following from this is a study of various codices containing manuals of religious instruction and the arrangement of their texts. A classification of these codices is provided.

The third part is an elaboration of the second, but with the attention focused on Ed, and the ways in which it is a derivative and yet unique devotional collection. The arrangement of the instructional texts in Ed is also studied; and in this concluding study I suggest that for Ed there is a discernible pattern in their arrangement.

### I

To judge from its contents -- Ten Commandments, Seven Deadly Sins, Seven Sacraments, Twelve Articles of the Faith, etc., -- Ed is to be associated with that general class of medieval manuscripts termed manuals of instruction. It is

not, as I will show in a later section, merely another of the 'manye bokes and tretrees of vyces and vertues and of dyuerse doctrynes',<sup>1</sup> but an unusually full and unique compendium of didactic, pastoral, and meditative treatises, and one dependent upon heterodox, as well as orthodox, sources for its 'dyuerse doctrynes'.

Ed, like so many manuals of instruction and devotional codices written before it, may be seen as a written response to a series of problems, questions, or events.<sup>2</sup> The Christian manuals of instruction have a fairly long and continuous history, beginning with early second century 'catechisms',<sup>3</sup> and continuing to the present day; they are in the

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<sup>1</sup> 'Orologium Sapientie', Bodl. MS. Douce. 114, f. 92<sup>v</sup>. For a printed edition of this tract, see Karl Horstmann, Anglia x (1887-1888), 323-394.

<sup>2</sup> This assertion rests upon several assumptions: in order to establish the historical context I have assumed that Ed and the other codices mentioned here, and elsewhere in this introduction, are products of reflective thought. More specifically, I have assumed that Ed as a manual of instruction and a devotional codex was copied and compiled for a purpose, and that the scribe-compiler was aware of this purpose. For these, and other, general historical presuppositions see R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (1946; rpt. Oxford, 1973), 308-315.

<sup>3</sup> T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, eds. The Lay Folks' Catechism E.E.T.S. O.S. cxviii (1901), xxx, hereafter referred to as Lay Folks' Catechism. As Simmons and Nolloth note, the word catechism was not used to describe a book until the early sixteenth century; historically, the word was descriptive of the method (question and answer) used to instruct people in the beliefs of a religion (Christian and Judaic) (xxx-xxxi), and mutatis mutandis the principles and techniques of a philosophy (Socratic), see R.G. Collingwood, An Essay on Philosophical Method (1933; rpt. Oxford, 1970), 10-11.

first instance a response to the absence of knowledge of God and His Church. The Christian Church has, from time to time, and in different places, felt it necessary to restate, reformulate, and propagate the central tenets of the Faith, to prod the indolent into action, and to counter ignorance with knowledge. Gregory the Great's Liber Regulae Pastoralis<sup>4</sup> was an early (c. 590) and influential attempt<sup>5</sup> to provide the bishops and clergy with a manual of guidance in the instruction of the laity. It was translated by Alfred the Great (c. 894), and sent out to various English bishops as the Cura Pastoralis.<sup>6</sup> Alfric (c. 998) stipulates that priests before they are ordained are to have 'a psalter, epistle book, gospel book and mass book ..., manual, an Easter table..., a pastoral book, a penitential and a reading book ...';<sup>7</sup> the 'manual' was presumably to be used by the

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<sup>4</sup> 'Sancti Gregorii Papae I, Opera Omnia', Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, lxxvii, cols. 1-128.

<sup>5</sup> M.L.W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe: A.D. 500 to 900, 2nd ed. (1931; rpt. Ithaca, New York, 1957), 105-108.

<sup>6</sup> King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. H. Sweet, E.E.T.S. O.S. xlv, 1 (1871), see also reprint of 1958 with corrections and additional note by N.R. Ker. For the publication and distribution of Alfred's version, see Kenneth Sisam's, 'The Publication of Alfred's Pastoral Care', Studies in the History of Old English Literature, (1953; rpt. Oxford, 1967). Earlier in the ninth century 'the First Council of Mayence, and the Council of Tours (A.D. 813), ordered religious instruction in the vulgar tongue.' Lay Folks' Catechism, xxxiv.

<sup>7</sup> Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, 1, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1834?), 441-451, quoted by Margaret Deanesly, Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church (London, 1962), 127-128. That a priest should have these various books is obviously the ideal.

priest in catechizing the numerous but ill-educated faithful.<sup>8</sup> By the early thirteenth century it had become increasingly and painfully clear to the hierarchy of the Church that the education of the laity, and the clergy, on a local basis -- by bishopric -- had failed.<sup>9</sup> The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was summoned by Innocent III to remedy specific abuses within the Church and the failure to educate the laity and clergy was among these. Canon 21, Omnis utriusque sexus, was promulgated to deal with this problem; in scholastic terms, its formal object was confession

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<sup>8</sup> The Christian in the eleventh century was to know the Pater Noster and Creed, 'if he learn them not he cannot receive the holy housel or be given Christian burial or lawfully stand sponsor at a baptism or at a confirmation (the laying on of the bishop's hands); not until he learns it and knows it well.' Code of I Cnut (c. 1027), quoted by Margaret Deanesly, Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church, 125; see also p. 114: 'A priest within his "shrift-shire" must baptise babies, say mass in his church on Sundays and holy days and teach his people in English the meaning of the creed and Our Father; lay people must know these by heart.' If this constituted the total required memorization on the part of the laity, (and they often failed in it, else why the continual reminder to the clergy) then the remarkable memory of medieval man so frequently alluded to must have been confined to the clergy.

<sup>9</sup> Margaret Deanesly, A History of the Medieval Church: 590-1500, 9th ed. (1925; rpt. London, 1972), 198.

and the preparation of the clergy to elicit good confessions from the laity:

Sacerdos autem sit discretus & cautus, ut more periti medici super infundat vinum & oleum vulneribus sauciati; diligenter inquirens & peccatoris circumstantias & peccati ....<sup>10</sup>

While the specific influence of Canon 21 on the Liber Poenitentialis can be discerned, 'its principal legislative part' notes C. R. Cheney 'would be more in place among the decisions of a provincial council or diocesan synod than in a manual for priests.'<sup>11</sup>

How these canons affected England is best summarized by Father Boyle:

One of the results of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 was a heightening of interest in the cure of

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<sup>10</sup> 'Concilium Lateranense IV', Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, Et Amplissima Collectio, ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi, Tomus Vigésimus Secundus Ab anno MCLXVI usque ad ann. MCCXXV, (1778; facsimile rpt., ed. H. Welter. Paris and Leipzig, 1903), xxii, col. 1010; for canon 21, see cols. 1007-1010.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the dating and sources of the Liber Poenitentialis of Peter of Poitiers, see C.R. Cheney, 'The numbering of the Lateran Councils of 1179 and 1215', Medieval Texts and Studies (Oxford, 1973), 203-208; for quote, see p. 208, and concluding remarks. For a general discussion of the Fourth Lateran Council and its influence see Raymonde Foreville, Latran I, II, III et Latran IV (Paris, 1965), 227-386, esp. pp. 297-299, 357-358.

souls, and the years that followed the Council saw a generous effort on the part of prelates to provide, in accordance with the Lateran directives, a better-educated clergy who could bring the laity to a reasonable understanding of the essentials of Christian belief and practice. In England, during the reign of Henry III, nearly every diocese contributed to the movement for reform, chiefly by statutes modelled upon or deriving from decrees of Innocent III's great council. The Council of Oxford in 1222, the Council and Constitutions of the Legate Otto at London in 1237 and of the Legate Ottobono at London in 1268, catered in varying degrees for the Church of England as a whole.<sup>12</sup>

However, by 1281 observance of the various canons and decrees had apparently weakened, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (the Southern primate) summoned his clergy to the Council of Lambeth (1281) and issued yet another, and fuller, version of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, which incorporated material from other, and more recent, councils.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Rev. L.E. Boyle, O.P., 'The Oculus Sacerdotis and some other works of William of Pagula', T.R.H.S., 5th series, v (1955), 81. See also references there cited: M. Gibbs and J. Lang, Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272 (Oxford, 1939), 94 - 179, and C.R. Cheney, English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century (Oxford, 1941).

<sup>13</sup>For the canons see F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, Councils and synods, with other documents relating to the English Church (Oxford, 1964), ii, pt. 2, 886-918, hereafter referred to as Councils and Synods, ii.

The important canon for our purposes is the one with the rubric 'De informatione simplicium sacerdotum' (incipit: 'Ignorantia sacerdotum'). The canon is too long to quote here in toto, but as Pecham's canon is an elaborated 'sketch of Christian doctrine and morals... which followed the same main lines' as Grosseteste's statute,<sup>14</sup> it is well to quote from Grosseteste's more succinct statement first:

Ut unusquisque pastor animarum et quilibet sacerdos parochialis sciat decalogum, id est, decem mandata legis mosaice, eademque populo sibi subiecto frequenter predicet et exponat. Sciat quoque que sunt septem criminalia, eademque similiter populo predicet fugienda. Sciat insuper saltem simpliciter septem ecclesiastica sacramenta, et hii qui sunt sacerdotes maxime sciant que exiguntur ad vere confessionis et penitentie sacramentum, formamque baptizandi doceant frequenter laicos in ydionate communi. Habeat quoque quisque eorum saltem simplicem intellectum fidei, sicut continetur in simbolo tam maiori quam minori, et in tractatu qui dicitur 'Quicumque vult', qui cotidie ad Primam in ecclesia psallitur.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>C.R. Cheney, 'Some aspects of diocesan legislation in England during the thirteenth century', Medieval Texts and Studies (Oxford, 1973), 189.

<sup>15</sup>Councils and Synods, ii, 246.

Pecham's main points are adumbrated in the opening paragraph of 'De informatione simplicium sacerdotum':

In quorum remedium discriminum statuendo precipimus ut quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens, quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, die una sollempni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos, decem mandata decalogi, duo precepta evangelii, scilicet, gemine caritatis, septem etiam opera misericordie, septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie, septem virtutes principales, ac septem gratie sacramenta. Et ne quis a predictis per ignorantiam se excuset, que tamen omnes ministri ecclesie scire tenentur, ea perstringimus summaria brevitate.<sup>16</sup>

The direct influence of Pecham's canon on the form and content of Latin and vernacular manuals of instruction has been fairly well established elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> as has the influence of Pecham's Constitutions upon the subsequent

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<sup>16</sup> Councils and Synods, ii, 900-901.

<sup>17</sup> W. Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae (London, 1842) ii, pp. xlv-xlv, hereafter referred to as Monumenta Ritualia, ii. Lay Folks' Catechism, ix-xx, and text; Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), 196; G.R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1926), 282-292; H.G. Pfander, 'Some medieval manuals of religious

contd/...



Provincial Constitutions of John Thoresby, archbishop of York (1357),<sup>18</sup> and Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury (1408).<sup>19</sup>

It seems, then, that the history of the contents of the manual of instruction is, to some extent, to be inferred from the canons of Provincial councils, both in England and abroad,<sup>20</sup> and from the codes of Anglo-

17 contd.)

instruction in England and Observations on Chaucer's Parson's tale', J.E.G.P. xxxv (1936), 243-244; W.N. Francis, The Book of Vices and Virtues, E.E.T.S. O.S. ccxvii (1942), ix-x; hereafter referred to as Vices and Virtues; P. Hodgson, 'Ignorancia Sacerdotum: A Fifteenth-Century Discourse on the Lambeth Constitutions', R.E.S. xxiv (1948), 1-11. D. Douie, Archbishop Pecham (Oxford, 1952), 138-142; Boyle, pp. 81-83; W.A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1955), 193-194; A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert, 'The Wyclifite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments, with special reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library', B.J.R.L. xlii (1960), 345-347; however, the inferences Kellogg and Talbert draw from the various canons of Pecham and Thoresby are suspect; 'Henceforth [after Pecham and Thoresby's constitutions] there was imposed upon the laity of both provinces a common duty of learning and upon the clergy a common duty of instruction', (p. 346). See fn. 8, above, and references there cited. G.H. Russell, 'Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in the Later Middle Ages in England: Some Texts and Notes', Journal of Religious History ii (1962), 53-102.

18 Lay Folks' Catechism, xv.

19 The Lollard Libel, 295.

20 Councils and Synods, ii, 337-338.

Saxon and Danish Kings, their writings, and the writings of their bishops. Using these sources it seems that while the instruction of laity and clergy has always (as far as we can tell) been of great importance, the required knowledge and number of specific items of doctrine has varied, and that, in general, the medieval layman of 1420 was required to know more than the medieval layman of 1027. This, of course, has interesting implications, and it may help to explain, among other things, the seeming necessity<sup>21</sup> of more elaborate and self-contained written manuals of instruction.

## II

The manuals of instruction themselves took on a variety of forms in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. W.A. Pantin has attempted to bring order to the religious

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<sup>21</sup> In order to have manuals of instruction, in different forms and in abundance, other things are, of course, required: plentiful and stable supplies of raw materials, stable conditions for the producers, and an audience willing and able to underwrite the cost of production. These factors have influenced, and continue to influence, all book production. For the importance of these material factors see H.S. Bennett, 'The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century', The Library, 5th series, 1 (1946-1947), 167-176.

literature of the fourteenth century,<sup>22</sup> but his attempt, lucid and compelling though it is, is vitiated, in part, by his rigid methodology, for he fits religious literature into three discrete compartments, and devotes chapters to each: 'Manuals of Instruction for Parish Priests' (chapter nine); 'Religious and Moral Treatises in the Vernacular' (chapter ten); and 'English Mystical Literature of the Fourteenth Century' (chapter eleven).

His chapter discussions, focusing as they do upon these separate compartments, do not account for the overlap of these types of classes of religious literature.

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<sup>22</sup> The English Church in the Fourteenth Century, 189-262, esp. pp. 220-235. For the summary table which follows, see pp. 222-235. However, the 'alarming mass of material' still remains. There have, of course, been other attempts at classification. A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1500, ed. J. Burke Severs (Hamden, Connecticut, 1970) ii, sections III, IV, and VI which is based upon J.E. Wells's A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1916), and presumably supersedes it, is far from complete, not well-organized, and does not consider the mass of manuals, other compendia of devotional and meditative treatises, or even some of the treatises themselves; (in this respect, the Severs edition is not an improvement on the Wells edition). There have been two other, more recent, partial attempts at making some sense of the tremendous variety of vernacular religious texts; but both have concentrated on individual treatises, not codices, and have classified them. P.S. Jolliffe's, A Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance (Toronto, 1974), hereafter cited as Check-List, is a useful guide to, for the most part, the manuscript sources of lesser-known treatises. Jolliffe is also critical of Pantin's narrow focus, see Check-List, 12-13. N.F. Blake's 'Varieties of Middle English Prose', Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Rossell Pope Robbing, ed. Peryl Rowland (London, 1974), 348-356, is merely a skeleton framework of Middle English prose onto which are hung a selection of the usual well-known texts.

His treatment of 'Religious and Moral Treatises in the Vernacular', admittedly involving a consideration of 'a most alarming mass of material', is illustrative of both the success and failure of his method.

He divides these works into five groups, citing texts which he considers the 'starting point' of each group and derivative texts. Since the discussion in a later section of this introduction is an attempt at the classification of various types of vernacular treatises of religious instruction it is best to set out a summary table of his groups, and to comment on those pertinent to our discussion.

#### Group I<sup>23</sup>

starting point: Mirror of Holy Church (Mirror of St. Edmund).

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<sup>23</sup> For the Mirror of St. Edmund see Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse, ed. G.G. Perry, E.E.T.S. O.S. xxvi, rev. (1867; rpt. 1914), 16-30. For the Prick of Love and How a man shall live perfectly see Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., ed. Carl Horstmann, E.E.T.S. O.S. xciii (1892), 268-297; 221-231.

derivatives: various English translations;  
Prick of Love (verse); How a man shall live  
perfectly (English version of first part of the  
Mirror, also in verse).

#### Group II<sup>24</sup>

starting point: Manuel des péchés.  
 derivatives: Handling Sin (verse translation);  
Of Shrift and Penance.

#### Group III<sup>25</sup>

starting point: Somme le Roi.  
 derivatives: Asenbite of Inwit; Book of Vices  
and Virtues.

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24 For the manuscripts and extracts see E.J. Arnould, Le Manuel des péchés, (Paris, 1940), 359-436. For Handling Sin see Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne', ed. J.F. Furnivall, E.E.T.S. O.S. cxix, cxxiii (1901, 1909); this edition also contains William of Waddington's 'Manuel des Pechiez' as a parallel text.

25 For manuscripts of the Somme le Roi see Vices and Virtues, xix-xx. Asenbite of Inwit, ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S. O.S. xxiii (1866); for Book of Vices and Virtues see fn. 17, above.

Group IV<sup>26</sup>

'The chief characteristic of this group is an ingenious attempt to equate the various groups of "sevens".'

convenient starting point: St. Anselm's Homily on  
the Beatitudes (in Latin).

derivatives: Templum Domini (Latin);  
Speculum Vitae (Middle  
English, verse).

Group V<sup>27</sup> Miscellaneous treatises

1. The Poems of William of Shoreham.
2. The Prick of Conscience.

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26 For St. Anselm's Homily see 'Homilia II', Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina, clviii, cols. 595-597; also The English Church in the Fourteenth Century, 227-228 for further references to other homilies and the Templum Domini. For the Speculum Vitae (The Mirror of Life) see J.E. Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 348.

27 The Poems of William of Shoreham, ed. M. Konrath, E.E.T.S. E.S. lxxxvi (1902); The Prick of Conscience, ed. R. Morris, Philological Society, (Berlin, 1863); see also the edition of part of the Southern Recension in 'The Pricke of Conscience: The Southern Recension, Book V', ed. S.A. Waters (Univ. of Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis 1976). Speculum Christiani, ed. G. Holmstedt, E.E.T.S. O.S. clxxxii (1929). Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines, ed. E.J. Arnould, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 11 (Oxford, 1940); for the Lay Folks' Catechism see fn. 3 above; The Desert of Religion, ed. V. Hübner, Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen cxxvi (1911) 58 ff., 360 ff.; and H.E. Allen, 'The desert of religion: Addendum', Archiv ... cxxvii (1911), 388, who points out that The Desert of Religion has as its primary source the Speculum Vitae from which are drawn direct quotations.

3. Speculum Christiani.
4. Livre de Seyntz Medicines.
5. Lay Folks' Catechism.
6. Desert of Religion.

The above groups do not constitute a systematic attempt to classify all, or even most, vernacular treatises of religious instruction. Although it is not indicated by Pantin, his groups may be seen to be an attempt to organize, for the most part, those treatises and meditations (and implicitly the codices themselves) which are aids to confession, and not necessarily aids to devotion. This distinction is not a rigid one: obviously, a person who takes confession seriously, and prepares himself for it, is also preparing himself for the devotional life. However, Pantin's groups, differing as they do among themselves, still present a distorted picture of the variety<sup>28</sup> of religious, moral and devotional treatises, as well as codices, available to clergy and laymen in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

For example, in Group III Pantin is listing the Book

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<sup>28</sup> Jolliffe's study, Check-List, preserves the variety of vernacular treatises, but his categories are not very useful for classifying codices.

of Vices and Virtues (among others) as a derivative of the Somme le Roi underestimates the importance of the fact that the Book of Vices and Virtues, as a codex, is known to exist in only two manuscripts, while other English translations of the Somme le Roi, either complete or in part, exist in eight other manuscripts. He also fails to note that these translations appear as often as not with other devotional texts.<sup>29</sup> One is left with the impression that of this type of literature there are three fairly well-known and influential texts. In fact, of the two translations noted by him, the Agēbite is unique, and was not, to judge from the dearth of imitators, well-known at all in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries;<sup>30</sup> and the cited Book of Vices and Virtues also had a limited appeal, and when it was known it was for some of its parts and not as a whole (or separate codex).

With Group V 'Miscellaneous treatises' the problems are slightly different. The group is indeed miscellaneous: extremely popular poem-treatises like The Prick of Conscience are not of the same order as the Lay Folks' Catechism; one could argue, pace Pantin, that the aim of The Prick of Conscience was not popular instruction, that it, unlike

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<sup>29</sup> Pantin does note that the Book appears in six other translations; however, see Vices and Virtues, xxxii, xlvii-lvi. The two codices are B.M. MS. Additional 17013, and Huntington Library MS. HM 147; the other extant text of the Book is found in BM. MS. Additional 22283, 'Simeon', but this manuscript also contains numerous other religious pieces, e.g. the Mirror of St. Edmund, Prick of Conscience, Speculum Vitae.

<sup>30</sup> J.E. Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 345-346.



the Speculum Christiani and Lay Folks' Catechism, was not in the first instance a text to be taught. The same can be said of The Poems of William of Shoreham, Livre de Seyntz Medicines, and the Desert of Religion; these were elaborations and incidental products of religious and moral education, and not the primary vehicles for its inculcation. Pantin also over-estimates the popularity of the vernacular versions of the Speculum Christiani as a totality: from Holmstedt's Introduction and Table to the extant manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani<sup>31</sup> it is clear that with the purely vernacular copies (only one copy of which contains the entire treatise) it was known for one or two excerpts, and not in its entirety. The bulk of the Speculum is written in Latin with English verse and prose only thinly interspersed.<sup>32</sup> One could not infer this from Pantin's account.

I have attempted to show, through this brief critique, that Pantin's 'attempt to analyse and classify' religious and moral treatises in the vernacular<sup>33</sup> is not altogether satisfactory, that its inadequacies are the result not only of applying distinctions too rigidly, but of ignoring the

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<sup>31</sup>Speculum Christiani, xv-cxxxiii, 326-328.

<sup>32</sup>Speculum Christiani, xvi.

<sup>33</sup>The English Church in the Fourteenth Century, 220.

complexities of manuscript compilation. Pantin's broader objective, however, is not without value; as a general account of religious literature of the fourteenth century it does provide us with a readily available frame-work into which lesser-known tracts and treatises may, perhaps, be fitted. Unfortunately, his framework for the vernacular religious treatises is too selective, and inconsistent to be of much help in the classification of vernacular religious codices.

There is an alternative approach, however: Pantin's grouping of religious and moral treatises in the vernacular may be looked upon as a successful attempt to identify treatises with regard to a narrowly defined subject matter. His groups may not be satisfactory classificatory categories, but he has directed attention to certain kinds of texts, and he has put them into an historical context. The next step is to take the different codices and to group, or categorize, them with regard to the kinds of texts they contain, and the ways in which these texts are arranged within the codices. That is, the classificatory scheme I suggest would consider manuscripts as codices, and not as repositories of interesting, but unconnected, treatises.<sup>34</sup> The next step,

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<sup>34</sup>For an important discussion of some of the influences affecting the arrangement of twelfth-century texts see M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt, eds. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 115-141, hereafter referred to as 'Parkes'.

or stage of categorization, would be one which considered the different forms, or types, of codices within each major grouping. For example, given the major subject of religious and moral codices in the vernacular it is possible, taking one type of codex only, to classify it thus (a more detailed analysis of this scheme follows the discussion):

# **I. Codices containing Manuals of Instruction.**

## **A. Prose**

1. Manual as predominant text or alone.
2. Manual and liturgical and homiletic texts.
3. Manual and devotional and moral texts.
4. Manual and meditative texts.
5. Manual extracts and other texts.

## **B. Verse**

The same five categories can be used.

It is apparent in the above classification that no allowance has been made for the distinction between long and short manuals, but this may be more properly dealt with at another level, since within any one sub-group it is likely to involve problems of textual relationships.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See the introduction to The Ten Commandments in this thesis.

Further headings, II, III, etc. may be used to classify other types of codex: codices containing meditative treatises as primary texts; codices containing devotional texts as primary texts; codices containing moral texts and codices containing liturgical and homiletic texts as primary texts.

The schema I have suggested is open to the criticism of rigidity, that it, like Pantin's classification, fails to account for the overlap of classes. This may be so, but the schema I propose is 'open-ended'; that is, it is capable of refinement through the addition, deletion and re-ordering of classes. In the end, the overlap of classes may be, to some extent, unavoidable, but, as I suggest in the following discussion, the attempt to account for the overlap, within one codex, of the various classes of vernacular religious treatises raises other questions, and in the answering of these, the original framework may need to be adjusted. The schema, above, is provisional.

The advantage of classification by codex, as opposed to treatise, is that it would seem to allow us to classify a body of literature in a way which reflected the tastes and objectives of its producers and consumers. A further advantage to this kind of classification is that it focuses our attention on each codex, and its contents as a meaningful totality, and not just its more interesting or well-known parts. A classification of this kind has considerable relevance to the study of the popularity of certain books (and their individual contents), book production, and the history and sources of popular piety.

It has been noted that Ed is to be associated with that general class of medieval manuscripts known as manuals of instruction. I have already suggested that it is possible, by way of classification, to say more about manuals of instruction: there are different kinds of manuals, each presumably assembled with different objectives in mind. The following section is both a brief introductory discussion of these different kinds of manuals and a discussion of Ed's relationship to some of them. As a preliminary to this discussion I have provided the following classified list of manuscripts.<sup>36</sup>

1. Manual as predominant text, or alone.

- (H<sub>2</sub>) B.M. MS. Harley 2343
- (Pl) Columbia University MS. Plimpton 258
- (A) B.M. MS. Additional 17013
- (Hn<sub>1</sub>) Huntington Library MS. HM 147
- ?(Bt) Bodl. MS. Eng.Th. c. 57
- ?(Lb) Lambeth MS. 403.

2. Manual and liturgical and homiletic texts.

- (A<sub>2</sub>) B.M. MS. Additional 28,026.
- (Rw<sub>1</sub>) Bodl. MS. Rawlinson A 381
- (Rw<sub>2</sub>) Bodl. MS. Rawlinson C 288

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<sup>36</sup>The list of manuscripts has been compiled from those manuscripts related either directly or indirectly to Ed. I have not attempted a systematic search of all extant catalogues, but in investigating the manuscripts related to Ed other manuscripts containing manual texts were discovered. The following survey is also preliminary.

- (Ar<sub>1</sub>) B.M. MS. Arundel 507
- (G<sub>3</sub>) G.U.L. Hunterian MS. 312
- (E) Emmanuel College, Cambridge MS. 246
- (A<sub>1</sub>) B.M. MS. Additional 27592
- (Ty) Trinity College, Oxford MS. 86
- (G<sub>1</sub>) G.U.L. Hunterian MS. 472(?)

3. Manual and devotional and moral texts.

- (Tn) Bodl. MS. Tanner 201
- (St) Bibl. Ste Geneviève MS. 3390
- (Tx) Trinity College, Dublin MS. 245
- (B) Bodl. MS. 938
- (T) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.3.21 (601)
- (C<sub>3</sub>) C.U.L. MS. Nn. 4. 12
- (Ed) E.U.L. MS. 93
- (C<sub>5</sub>) C.U.L. MS. II. 6. 43

4. Manual and meditative texts.

- (L) Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 23
- (Ly) Bodl. MS. Lyell 29
- (J) John Rylands Library MS. Eng. 85
- (Rw) Bodl. MS. Rawlinson C 209
- (Tn<sub>1</sub>) Bodl. MS. Tanner 336
- (S) B.M. MS. Additional 22283 (?)
- (H) B.M. MS. Harley 1706 (?)

5. Manual extracts, and other texts.

- (L<sub>1</sub>) Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 174
- (G) G.U.L. Hunterian MS. 520
- (U) University College, Oxford MS. 97
- (C<sub>6</sub>) C.U.L. MS. Hh. 1. 12.
- (N) New College, Oxford MS. 95
- (T<sub>2</sub>) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. B.14.54 (337)
- (C) C.U.L. MS. Ff. 6. 31
- (V) Westminster School MS. 3

1. Manual as predominant text, or alone. The manuals in this group can be considered as didactic codices: they may have been used by priests in the catechizing of the faithful (A, Hn<sub>1</sub>, Bt)<sup>37</sup>, for virtually all of the canons of the Lambeth Constitutions are covered, and there is ample explanatory material (including biblical citations). In one (Lb) there is mention of the obligation prelates, parsons, vicars, and priests owe to the instruction of the laity: 'þat euerych þat vndyr hym has kepyng of sowlys opunly on englysch vpon sundays preche and teche ham: þat þey haue cure of. þe lawe and þe lore to knowe god almysty and hys werkys.'<sup>38</sup> It is possible that a slimmer version of the

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<sup>37</sup>For A and Hn<sub>1</sub> see Vices and Virtues, x, and for Bt, see P. Hodgson, 'Ignorancia Sacerdotum...', fn. 17, above.

<sup>38</sup>Lay Folks' Catechism. 7.

manual circulated, perhaps in booklet form, and was used by the laity as part of a programme of early religious instruction, (see P1).<sup>39</sup>

The essential doctrines of the faith are presented (either whole or in part) in these codices -- Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the Apostle's Creed, the Five Senses (both inner and outer), the Fourteen Points of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Deeds of Mercy (both bodily and spiritual), the Seven Virtues, and the Seven Deadly Sins. This list may be extended to include the Eight Blessings of Christ, the Sixteen Conditions of Charity, and so on, (see H<sub>2</sub> and section III) but the initial ten items may be looked upon as forming the core of a manual of this type. Items in addition to these are probably accretions, which once joined to the manual become difficult to remove.

2. Manual, liturgical and homiletic texts. Several of the manuals in this group have been inserted into Horae or Prymers: in G<sub>3</sub> the manual<sup>40</sup> portion follows the Easter

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<sup>39</sup>For full facsimile of P1 see G.A. Plimpton, The Education of Chaucer (London & New York, 1935), 18-34.

<sup>40</sup>The catalogue entry of J. Young and P.H. Aitken, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1908), 420, describes the manual section as a Primer, but the items listed by Young and Aitken as belonging to the Primer are not the same as those listed by Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia ii, pp. xl-xli, nor by H. Littlehales, ed., The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book, E.E.T.S. O.S. cv(1895), viii-x. The various items in the Primer section of G<sub>3</sub> are the same as those discussed under Group I above.



Table and precedes the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary; in A<sub>1</sub> and E the manual has been added at the end of the Prymer.<sup>41</sup> In A<sub>2</sub> the manual has been tacked onto an English commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel; the Gospel portions are also in English and in the earlier version of the Wycliffite Bible. The manual appears in whole in Ty and in part in Rv<sub>1</sub> as part of what appears to be a priest's book: in Rv<sub>1</sub> the Ten Commandments and Seven Deadly Sins follow 'Homilies for the Sundays and festivals throughout the year', while in Ty the manual is number five of sixteen items, which include: various sentences of excommunication, forms of confession, and tracts on the visitation of the sick, and the celebration of the sacrament of matrimony. In Rv<sub>2</sub> the manual, with longer pieces on the Seven Deadly Sins and the Ten Commandments, is part of a codex containing various Latin reference texts: 'Canones Evangeliorum', 'capitula omnium librorum Sacre Scripture', and 'Excerpta ex Scintillis Defensoris; cum tabula capitulorum', among others. In all of these codices the manual portion is relatively small when compared to the other liturgical and

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<sup>41</sup> A<sub>1</sub> and E also appear to be close textually, both having the same calendar with the same entries for 21 May, 'Here was þe erthe quake þe seer of oure lord M. ccc. lxxxij', and 16 July, 'King Richard was crowned þe seer of oure lord m. ccc. lxxvij'. They also share the same version of The Ten Commandments; see the catalogue of manuscripts in the introduction to The Ten Commandments in this thesis. I hope to pursue these, and other, connexions elsewhere.

homiletic texts, but its inclusion in these codices suggests that the instruction of the laity begins with the instruction of the clergy, and that various liturgical texts might be used to carry other necessary, but more didactic messages.

3. Manual, devotional and moral texts. For some of the codices in this section the manual is, for the most part, the dominant portion of the codex, but the addition of devotional, pastoral, and moral treatises, and the expansion of the manual itself, so alter the character of the codex that it can no longer be considered as a straightforward didactic book, as are those in 1, above. The various codices in this section have the manual as their only common core. In Tn the manual is prefixed to the 'Memoriale Credientium'. In St the manual portion is a version of The Lay Folks' Catechism (see Lb, above), and it is preceded by tracts on the Ten Commandments; the Apostle's Creed; and Faith, Hope and Charity. The manual and three tracts account for over half of the codex, the rest being devoted to Richard Rolle's 'Form of Perfect Living', and 'Ego Dormio'. In Tx the manual is the opening text, and it is followed by twelve tracts (some, arguably, by Wyclif), all of a stern moral character, and several certainly devotional. C<sub>5</sub> also opens with the manual, but the rest of the codex -- 143 out of 156 folios -- is given over to various prayers, meditations, some in Latin some in English, and several edifying legends.

Another codex which is similar in the variety of its contents, and which also begins with the manual is T. However, as with C<sub>5</sub>, the remaining text of T dwarfs the manual: it has well over 300 folios containing numerous Lydgatian religious poems, poem-meditations on the Mass, and various prose pieces -- Benefits of the Communion, Life of Adam. B begins and ends with manual texts, but its remaining tracts have manual material scattered throughout them; for example a tract on the Seven Deadly Sins, among others, has been inserted into the long devotional-meditative treatise Pore Caitif, and the Seven Sacraments has been put between Of Widowhood and Quicunque Vult.<sup>42</sup> Ed, likewise, begins with the manual, and as with several other manuscripts in this section the devotional and moral treatises slightly outnumber (in folios) the amount of manual text. It is worth noting, however, that Ed, like B, has manual texts after devotional tracts: the Bodily Works of Mercy and the Twelve Articles of the Faith follow Rolle's Twelve Chapters of Perfection.

The codices in this section are to be distinguished, then, by the usual, but not invariable, arrangement of manual text plus devotional or moral texts. Occasionally, portions of the manual, excerpts perhaps, will be slotted

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<sup>42</sup> That these pieces were intruded into the treatise was known, apparently, by at least one contemporary, for in the numbering of the various sections of the treatise the extraneous pieces were not numbered. See Sister Mary Teresa Brady, R.D.C., 'The Pore Caitif: An Introductory Study', Traditio x (1954), 533, fn. 40.

into different positions in the codex, presumably as reminders that the doctrines of the Church are the seed ground of devotion. This suggestion will be explored more fully in part III of this introduction.

4. Manual and meditative texts. In this section I have attempted to account for those codices which contain the manual and meditative treatises. However, there are definitional problems inherent in the class called, here, meditative treatises, for meditations may well be, to some readers, devotional texts, and as such texts they (and the manual) could be dealt with in section 3. I have classified a treatise as meditative if it deals with apocalyptic or eschatological themes, or in some way forces the reader to think upon the Last Day. Using other criteria a wider selection of manuscripts could be classified in this section. L, J, and Rv begin with a manual, and this is followed by various meditations: 'A devoute meditation of Richard Hampole', 'A meditation on the name of Jesus' (Rv); The Mirror of Sinners, and The Three Arrows of Doomsday, among other pieces (L,J). Ly's manual follows the Mirror of Sinners, and Poor Caitif. S and H are included in this section for both contain manuals and meditations, but both are long codices containing texts other than meditations, so the classification of them is uncertain. S has the long manual text The Book of Vices and Virtues, and H has two different manuals in various places in the codex. To judge

from the arrangements of the texts of L, J, Rv and Ly it seems that when a manual occurs with meditative texts it does so as an entity; that is, the manual text is not broken up and its pieces inserted among meditative - devotional pieces. It is possible that the meditations, being as a rule longer than the devotional tracts, were taken and copied so as to form one large unit, thus occupying, before the whole manuscript was finally ordered, a fairly continuous and long stretch of manuscript. This seems to be the case with the Mirror of Sinners and The Three Arrows meditations, for they were often treated as a pair, and, often as not, were copied as a pair.<sup>43</sup> It is also possible that meditations were perceived by the scribes to be in a class by themselves and were not treated as devotional texts.

5. Manual extracts, and other texts. There are numerous codices which contain extracts, occasionally fragments, of manuals, but the kinds of extracts vary. N, a codex of Wyclif's (or Wycliffite) sermons and tracts, has the Seven Works of Mercy and the Creed, and these are separated by four tracts. C has only a long treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham,<sup>44</sup> the rest of the codex containing

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<sup>43</sup>See Appendix II of this thesis.

<sup>44</sup>Other copies of the Lavynham treatise occur in the following manuscripts: L, Rv, C, above; British Museum MSS. Harley 211, ff. 35<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>; Harley 1197, ff. 9<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>; Harley 1288, ff. 64<sup>r</sup>-75<sup>r</sup>; Harley 2383, ff. 65<sup>r</sup>-78<sup>r</sup>; Royal 8.C.I. ff. 144<sup>r</sup>-156<sup>v</sup>; Dr. Williams's Library MS. Anc. 3, ff. 133<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>v</sup>; Trinity College, Cambridge MS. B. 14. 19, ff. 243<sup>r</sup>-258<sup>r</sup>; Bodleian Library MSS. Ashmole 750, ff. 89<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>r</sup>;

various tracts: 'Propur Wille', 'The holi prophete david seiþ', 'A tretys of iii dyuers þousts', 'A tretys of hugh of seynt victor', and the Four Errors. In  $T_2$  the extracts predominate: the Creed, Ten Commandments, and Bodily and Spiritual Wits take up all but ten pages of the codex.

$L_1$  has a short tract on the Creed and this has been inserted into a codex containing a very long tract on the 'Life of the Virgin Mary and numerous apocalyptic meditations: Mirror of Sinners, Three Arrows, and the Meditation I of St. Anselm. The manual extracts in it include the Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster, and the Twelve Articles of the Faith. The codex is in two parts, the first being in Latin and the second English; the contents of the English part resemble those of  $U$ , in that  $U$  and  $L_1$  have the same apocalyptic meditations. Both  $C_6$  and  $W$  open with commentaries on the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Ten Commandments, but  $C_6$  adds a treatise on the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and  $W$  adds a list of the Bodily and Spiritual Works of Mercy; both codices contain various tracts on devotional and moral topics which are, in general, guides to a more perfect way of life.

There does not seem to be any pattern to the arrangement

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Douce 60, ff. 193<sup>r</sup>-213<sup>r</sup>; St. Peter Hungate Museum of Church Art at Norwich in volume 48. 153. 926, ff. 31<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>v</sup>, and University of Leeds MS. Brotherton 501, ff. 68<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>. For the above references I have depended upon J.P.W.M. van Zutphen's edition of Lavynham's treatise, A Litil Tretys (Rome, 1956), xxxiii. For the most part, I have not attempted to classify the codices containing this treatise.

of these extracts in the various manuscripts, nor does one manual text seem more popular than another. Of the codices noted, the manual texts and their positions in the codex which might deserve closer attention are the Creed, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments. If more codices were studied the number of manual extracts might well increase, and definite patterns might emerge.

### III

In the above survey I have concentrated on the manuals and their occurrence with or without certain other kinds of text. In this concluding section, however, I wish to look more closely at the manuals of Group 3, specifically the relationships of the doctrinal and meditative and devotional topics of these codices, some of the ways in which these topics and their treatment varied, and the various arrangements of these topics within the codex. In this way the unique nature of Ed can be assessed, and an appreciation gained of some of the subtleties and complexities connected with the compilation of a devotional codex.

As has been noted in Section I, the actual contents of the manual were determined, to a great extent, by specific canons of various Church and Provincial Councils; Archbishop Thoresby's Canons were translated into English:

The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten,

That principali may be shewed in this sex thinges:

In the fourtene poyntes that falles to the trouthe,

In the ten comandementes; that god has gyven us,  
 In the seuen Sacrement; that er in hali kirke,  
 In seuen dedis of merci until oure euen-cristen;  
 In the seuen vertues that ilk man sal use,  
 And in the seuen dedely sinnes that man sal refuse.<sup>45</sup>

These same injunctions appear in Lb and John Gaytryge's Sermon, and in a slightly different form in the Speculum Christiani;<sup>46</sup> they summarize what ~~were~~ thought to be the essential doctrines of the faith in mid-fourteenth century England. These six topics were not the only set of doctrines: the Book of Vices and Virtues offers the following six: the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Faith (Creed), the Seven Deadly Sins, Virtues, the Pater Noster, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the 'related virtues'.<sup>47</sup> In the Book of Vices and Virtues the list is not enumerated at the beginning of the treatise, so the various topics treating the essentials of the faith were covered without this being specified. I do not wish to push too far this distinction between the direct assertion of the required doctrines and

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<sup>45</sup> From Thoresby's Register, York, and quoted from Lay Folks' Catechism, 20.

<sup>46</sup> Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse, 1-15; Speculum Christiani, 8-9.

<sup>47</sup> Vices and Virtues, xxii.



the seemingly indirect assertion of them, but as a structural, or ordering, device, the enumeration of what is to be covered often affects what follows and in what order. It is clear, however, that there existed in the fourteenth century a list of requisite doctrinal topics.

In terms of the doctrinal points covered, Ed follows the Thoresby canon (and this applies, by and large, to the other codices of Group 3 as well): Ed has the Ten Commandments (two versions), the Seven Deadly Sins, the Bodily and Spiritual Wits, the Seven Sacraments, the Bodily Works of Mercy, and the Four Cardinal Virtues.<sup>48</sup> With regard to the organization of its manual, Ed may be seen, then, as a more catechetical text than that of the Book of Vices and Virtues, but, as is indicated in the following, certain tracts in Ed's manual clearly follow a textual tradition distinct from those of Lb, and one not overtly catechetical.

(1) The Mixed Version of the Ten Commandments<sup>49</sup> of Ed, along with A<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>, is textually related to S (of the Book of Vices and Virtues), and B<sub>1</sub><sup>50</sup> (The Ten Commandments of John Wyclif). To complicate matters further, part of the

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<sup>48</sup> The four cardinal virtues are Temperance, Prudence, Right-wisdom, and Strength, and is a unique treatise; Faith is also treated at the end of the treatise. Charity has a tract to itself -- The Sixteen Conditions of Charity. Hope is not treated, but it can be argued that Hope is the motivating force of the closing apocalyptic meditations.

<sup>49</sup> For a fuller account of The Ten Commandments and its various versions, see the introduction to it in this thesis.

<sup>50</sup> Bodleian MS. 789, ff. 108-123.

Mixed Version of Ed is also textually dependent upon Lb, or an Lb-like text. Ed also has a Rhetorical Version of the Ten Commandments, and this is textually related to B and Ty.

(ii) The Seven Deadly Sins of Ed is closer in overall form and content to Lb than to S, but, again, the version in Ed depends upon a different textual tradition; Ed, and the manuscripts to which it is related -- Ly, T, C<sub>3</sub>, G<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>1</sub>, Tx, and J -- draw upon a text, or texts, which have the remedies to the Seven Deadly Sins following each deadly sin. Such an arrangement argues for a source closer to the Miroir du Monde or Chaucer's Parson's Tale than to Lb, or S.<sup>51</sup>

(iii) The Twelve Articles of the Faith of Ed parallel by article (but not by commentary) the first eight articles of S; Ed and T depend upon the same source for their version of the Creed. However, as Curt Böhler has observed, the

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<sup>51</sup>Vices and Virtues, xxiii. Francis does not note that William of Pagula's Oculus Sacerdotis, Pars Dexterā, also has the remedies against sin, see National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS. 18.3.6. ff. 64<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>r</sup>. The remedies in this manuscript follow the discussion of each sin. B has the remedies against the sins gathered together at the end of the treatise, but these remedies are not antidotes to the specific sins, see ff. 247<sup>v</sup>-248<sup>r</sup>.

articles of the Creed vary greatly both in number and in order;<sup>52</sup> Ed may have depended upon an Lb or S-like text for its Creed.

Although it is tempting to place Ed (and several of the manuscripts to which it is related) with the standard catechetical text of Lb, the texts of the treatise suggest that the scribe of Ed, or more properly the scribe of its immediate source, or perhaps its compiler, drew upon a variety of sources for his texts. That is, various tracts in Ed retain traces of catechetical and more discursive compilations, so Ed as a compilation may be seen as representing a fusion of two distinct manual traditions.

The above accounts, in part, for the antecedents and the diversity of sources of Ed's manual. The following consideration of the arrangement of the treatises is, essentially, an attempt to explain both the relationship of the manual tracts to the other devotional and meditative tracts, and the literary-religious structure of the codex as a whole. The explanation I will offer is based upon the presupposition that a codex is compiled according to a design, that a codex (in this case a type of devotional codex) is not a random assortment of didactic, devotional, and meditative treatises.<sup>53</sup> I have also assumed that the

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<sup>52</sup> 'The Apostles and the Creed', Speculum xxviii (1953), 338.

<sup>53</sup> See Parkes, pp. 127-131. Parkes mentions but does not discuss the influence of the concept compilatio in the production of vernacular books; however, he cites (p.131, fn. 1) the forthcoming Ph.D. thesis of Mr.A.J. Minnis, 'Medieval Discussions of the Role of the Author', Queen's University of Belfast, and his discussion of the 'applications of the notion of compilatio in vernacular literature'. I have not seen this thesis, nor have I been able to locate it; it is, apparently, still 'forthcoming'.

act of writing or compiling Ed presented the scribe-compiler with a problem (or problems), and that his product, in this case the manuscript Ed, is a record of his attempt to solve what is, essentially, a religious problem: How to reconcile a finite man with an infinite God.<sup>54</sup>

For ease of discussion, and so that the order of the tracts in Ed is clear, I have set out below the contents of the codex, with manual tracts underscored.

1. Ten Commandments (Rhetorical Version, fragment)  
[Table of Contents]
2. Ten Commandments (Mixed Version)
3. Seven Deadly Sins
4. Five Bodily Wits
5. Five Ghostly Wits
6. Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost (A Version)
7. Six Manners of Consent to Sin
8. Eight Blessings of Christ (abridged version of Wyclif's sermon)
9. Three Manners of Good
10. Seven Sacraments
11. Four Needful Things
12. Four Cardinal Virtues
13. Sixteen Conditions of Charity
14. Twelve Chapters of Perfection of Richard Hampole
15. Seven Bodily Works of Mercy
16. Twelve Articles of the Faith
17. Eight Tokens of Meekness
18. Six[teen] Tokens of Love
19. Four Errors

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<sup>54</sup> The influence of Collingwood, The Idea of History, 314-315, is apparent. With regard to my explanation, I have attempted in it, in Popper's words, 'so to reconstruct the problem situation as it appeared to the agent, that the actions of the agent become adequate to the situation.' Karl Popper, Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach (1972; rpt. Oxford, 1975), 189.

20. Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost (B Version)
21. The Magnificat
22. Of Lords and Husbandmen
23. Meditation I of St. Anselm
24. Stathel of Sin
25. Biblical passages: LV, Wycliffite Bible,  
2 Pet.; 2 Cor; Jas.
26. The Sacrament. Biblical passages: LV, Wycliffite Bible, Matt.; Luke; 1 Cor.
27. Gospel of the Ascension Day, Biblical passages:  
LV, Wycliffite Bible, Mark.

The manual portion of Ed is best seen within the context of the devotional, or meditative, life. It is an aid in the preliminary stage in the steady movement from ignorance of God, and His laws to knowledge of God, His love, and self-transcendence. The manual is an important stage for it lays the moral groundwork of the higher devotional or meditative life. Items 1-12 are, for the most part, tracts concerned with the conduct of one's life: they are intensely moral tracts which make the reader not only aware of the pervasive and sometimes ineradicable nature of sin, but of man's power to overcome sin.

Both versions of the Ten Commandments focus on the prohibitions and injunctions, as well as on the breakers of the commandments. The Seven Deadly Sins treat not only of the sins, of course, and their branches, but of the remedies against the sins. The Bodily Wits are to be guarded against sin: 'No thyng maketh men soner to falle from þe commaundmentis of god þan doeth þe entrynge of þe fende at þe wyndowis of þe body'. The Ghostly Wits are to help man

fight off sin: 'Vndirstondynge is youen to man of euell thynges to flee it, and of good thynges to seche it, gete it, and holde it.' The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost (A version) are given to man to help him improve the tone of his moral life: 'Wysdome þat cometh from aboue is first chaast, also it is pesible, it is esy to treet to goodnes, it is consentynge to good thynges ...'.

The Eight Blessings of Christ is built around Christ's Sermon on the Mount and the eight beatitudes, but the commentator (presumably Wyclif) has used these beatitudes to lecture on the inroads of sin: 'Blessid be pore men in spirit, for heren is þe kyngdome of heuen. And here crist techyth mekenes ayens pride of worldely men...'. Sin and its correction in this world through the use of one's 'goods' is the subject of the Three Goods:

Iff þou haue godis of grace as vertues, or godis of kynde as myght & strenkeþ, or goodis of fortune as goodis of þis world, spend hem wele and discretly whil þou myght and art of power, for ellis þei shal turne to þine accusynge at þi moste nede, whan þou shalt yelde rekenynge of all þe goodis þat god hath lent to þe whil þat þou dwellist here.

With the exception of Confirmation and Holy Orders, the sole concern of the Seven Sacraments is with the prevention or purgation of sin.

The transition into the second part of the codex -- the devotional and meditative part -- begins with a short tract on Four Needful Things:

First is þat he must here þe worde of god & his lawe.  
 Þe secund he must vndirstond þe worde of god ....Þe  
 thrid he must worche þeraftir in dede ....Þe fourth  
 is þis to contynew in good werkes to þe ende of his  
 life, for if he do wele for a tyme and at þe last  
 turneth ayen to his synn all his former doynge  
 helpith hym not to heuen....

The emphasis in this tract is on the 'worde of god', and the attentive listening to it.

The Four Cardinal Virtues, while occasionally touching on sin, and the necessity of penance, is, for the most part, concerned with establishing what temperance, prudence, right-wiseness, and strength are, and ought to be, for the Christian, and how these virtues like strength 'makith a man stronge in loue boyth to god & to man, and also þerby a man hath grace to suffre strongely aduersitees, and to be myghty in discrete penance'. After reading this tract, one has been armed, as it were, and is now prepared to read on, to listen to the word of God, to meditate, and to strive for perfection: love and knowledge of God.

As a preparation for this next step there is the treatise the Sixteen Conditions of Charity, which begins, formally, the second part of the codex. Part I may be seen, then, as a preparation for the devotional life, or, if one

chooses, the meditative life. But before beginning this life (and it is essentially a mental life) one must conform to the laws of God, rid oneself of sin (and in order to do this one must know what the chief sins are and their remedies), prepare the body and the mind for the assaults of sins, know and receive the Sacraments for they protect one against sin, listen to the word of God for it edifies, and practice the cardinal virtues for they prepare man to know and believe in God.

The second part begins, as noted above, with the Sixteen Conditions of Charity, a treatise which, as noted earlier, may be seen as an extension of the virtues.<sup>55</sup> Like the disquisitions on the virtues, the Sixteen Conditions of Charity emphasizes what the conditions are: for example, 'The first is þat charite is pacient of wrongys, for all our charite mot be ensampled of crist...'. It is worth remarking that in the second part the discourse centres around charity, love, caritas rather than around poenitentia, as in Part I.

Next follows the Twelve Chapters of Perfection of Richard Hampole, a long treatise (41 folios) beginning with a chapter entitled 'how wicked men shuld turn hem from synn',

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<sup>55</sup>See fn. 48, above.



with the final two chapters being 'The .xi. of perfite loue of god. The .xii. of contemplacion of goddis ordynance and worchyng.' This is Richard Misyn's translation of Richard Rolle's De Emendatione Vitae, and may be looked upon as a devotional text beginning with a meditation upon sin, and the sinfulness of man (rather than a didactic tract explaining sin) and ending with a long tract on contemplation, beginning 'Contemplacion or contemplatyue life hath thre partyes as in redyng, praynge & thynkyng.' The Rolle treatise is, then, a self-contained programme for the devotional or meditative life; in many ways (and in spite of its opening chapter on sin) it seems to presuppose a fairly thorough knowledge of manual material. The chapters of this treatise are meditations upon particular aspects of the devotional and contemplative life -- poverty, tribulation, patience, prayer, holy thinking, perfect reading, cleanness of heart -- they are not discourses which attempt to tell the reader what a thing is by way of composition, progeny, or remedies.<sup>56</sup>

Because of the length and the fact that it is a separate extended meditation on the path of perfection,

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<sup>56</sup> 'Pore Caitif' (see fn. 42) has similar topics: 'Vertuous Pacience, Of Temptacioun, The Loue of Ihesu, Of Verri Meeknes, Actiif Liif and Contemplacioun' (p. 532). Although Sister Mary Brady calls 'Pore Caitif' a 'manual of religious instruction' it is not a manual in the sense I have used it: 'Pore Caitif' is not well suited for formal religious instruction, for it lacks the didactic element usually found in the manuals and catechisms. It seems better suited for reading and meditation.

this treatise may have been read as a separate work. However, the compiler may have placed this work, after the central notion of caritas had been introduced, as a recapitulation, in the meditative mode, of the more didactic points made in the first twelve tracts, and as a foreshadowing of the concluding meditations. The treatise itself has in its opening lines an enumeration of the contents of the treatise, so the reader could choose, if so inclined, a tract appropriate to his devotional mood.

The next two tracts -- Bodily Works of Mercy and the Twelve Articles of the Faith -- are from the manual and may be seen to follow, without disjunction, either the Sixteen Conditions of Charity (if the Twelve Chapters is omitted), or any of the Twelve Chapters tracts. The Bodily Works of Mercy and the Twelve Articles of the Faith are universally applicable. The Bodily Works of Mercy are evidence of the working of charity in the soul of the sinner-contemplative; they are also useful reminders to the would-be contemplative that he is part of the world and that his love of Christ entails love of man. The Articles of the Faith, although a short tract, is an important document for any reader, for the articles are the essential propositions of Christian thought: they are also at the same time, and at a different level, encapsulations of the central mysteries of the religion, and at another level they are the recapitulation of the life of Christ. The reader is forced at this stage, if he is alert to the text, to stop and to consider what it is that he believes.

These two tracts, unlike the other manual tracts, are not concerned with sin, and its purgation, and it is interesting to note that they have been put last and after the notion of charity has been discussed. It is of course not a necessary sequence; the Bodily Works of Mercy and the Twelve Articles of the Faith or Creed may well be put at the beginning of the manual (see B, Tn, Tx) and there are good doctrinal arguments for doing so, but they may, depending upon the compiler, be put in other places, and to good effect.

With the Eight Tokens of Meekness, Sixteen Tokens of Love, the Four Errors, and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost (B version) there is an elaboration of the themes of humility and the right ordering of one's life. Although these topics have been considered previously (meekness and humility were mentioned as remedies to the deadly sin of pride, and balance in one's life was mentioned in the Four Cardinal Virtues), they were not treated at length, and they should receive a more detailed exposition. In the Four Errors one is gently reminded, in subject matter and tone, of parts of the discourse on the Seven Deadly Sins: 'for why all thynges þat is in þe world is couetise of ey, lust of flesh & pryde of life, which is not of þe fadre but of þe world'. But the harsh moral tone of the Four Errors has a purpose, and one is warned from the opening sentence: 'Iff eny man semyth eny perte of holy writ hard or heuy to vndirstonde, pource hym silf of þies errouris þat suen...'. This tract may be seen as a necessary warning to those who would travel the path of the contemplative that the soul of man is sin-stained,

and that sin alone obscures the proper understanding of Holy Writ.

The B version of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost blends fragments of the Pater Noster with the Beatitudes, and the reader is returned once again to a higher plane: 'The streneth makith þe soules desire euermore vpward with þe yeft of þe spirit of wisdom', and the tract closes with a litany-like roll of those to whom the Holy Ghost will come and dwell in: 'To þe þat hathe cleue soules, To þe þat bene oyned in good loue, To þe þat kepeth not to be seen to veyn ioy, To þe þat be deuout nyght & day in prayers, To þe þat bene make within & without, To þe þat dwellith in pees, To þe namely þat ben rauyshyd in contemplacion.' The Magnificat, which follows, is a small celebration, perfectly within keeping for those who long for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, but do so in a perpetual season of Lent.

Of Lords and Husbandmen begins the apocalyptic or eschatological section of the codex. It is, essentially, a pastoral treatise made up of citations from the fathers and the bible admonishing and instructing 'Lordis and husbandmen' how they 'shulde teche goddis commaundmentys & þe gospel to her seruauntis as þei shall answeere for hem to god in þe dredfull day off doome.' The tract ends with a reference to David and the love he had for

his people: 'and he fed hem in þe innocence of his hert'.

The concern and responsibility that one feels for the salvation of one's subjects and charges gives way in Meditation I of St. Anselm to a fearful concern for one's own salvation: 'My life ferith me sore for whan I serche it bisely it semyth to me eiber in syn or without fruyte wele nyghe all my life.' Throughout the treatise there are self-abnegatory phrases directed toward the speaker: 'O mercyful god þou norishyst & fedist & abydist an vnprofitable worme and stynkyng in synne'; he refers to himself as 'bareyn soule', 'vnfruytful tree', 'wrechid synner', and 'caitife synner'. The speaker's final plea is to be spared the 'euerlastyng corrupcion' of hell, and to be included 'with all þo þat loueth þi name Ihesu' in heaven. The meditation is an effective display of the power of the mind to conjure up that 'day of myst and of darkness', and the imagined response of a wretched sinner faced with eternal damnation.

The Stathel of Sin continues in the same eschatological mood, beginning with a warning to the sinner to 'gadder to gedyr þe myghtes of [his] soule', and to meditate upon his 'wrechid lyuyng'; thereafter various fragments of his wretched living are called to mind, and his unworthiness is dwelt upon: 'I this wrechid erthly worme, þe mooste vilest synner of synners of all

haue in so myche deseruyd þe streitnes of þi right  
 wisdom'. In contrast to the previous meditation,  
 the sinner-speaker of the Stathel of Sin makes the  
 appeal for salvation early in the meditation, and  
 repeats it often throughout: every thought of his  
 worthlessness calls forth a cry of agony, and he begs  
 to be spared damnation. In the end he submits himself  
 to Christ's mercy and trusts in Christ's love for man:  
 'and aftir þat how swete he is in his louers & last  
 of all how mercyful he is to synners', and calls upon  
 his Name, again and again. The treatise is not as  
 effective as Meditation I of St. Anselm, lacking its  
 power of expression, and rhetorical balance.

The codex ends with extracts from the Later Version  
 of the Wycliffite Bible. Item 25 is composed of ex-  
 tracts from 2 Peter i, 5-9; 2 Corinthians vi, 1-7  
 (incomplete), and James iv, 1-17; these treat of the  
 shunning of various forms of corruption, and the pursuit  
 of virtue. The Sacrament is a collection of biblical  
 texts, also from the Later Version of the Wycliffite  
Bible, concerned with the eucharist, and the Last  
 Supper. The Gospel of the Ascension Day, another Later  
 Version extract, is that of Mark xvi, 14-20, and is,  
 apparently, incomplete. The text which remains concerns  
 the influence of the Ascension on the disciples, particu-  
 larly their preaching mission, and the powers given to

them to spread the word of Christ.<sup>57</sup>

These may have been reference texts (analogous to modern appendices containing primary texts), to which the devout reader could turn. There are references throughout the different treatises to the word of god, 'holy writ', and 'goddis lawe' and in several treatises the reader is enjoined to read or learn 'holy writ' (Of Lords and Husbandmen, implicitly through an exemplum, and Four Needful Things through an injunction: 'eche man and woman shuld bisely here and lerne þe worde of god').<sup>58</sup>

The second part of Ed is the longest section in the codex, and in some ways it is, on first appearance,

<sup>57</sup>The influence of the literal aspect of this text, and of one passage in particular, is still to be felt. A religious sect in East Tennessee (not far from Cosby, Tennessee) interprets (in a modern edition of course) 'þei shal do away serpentis, & if þei drynken eny venyme, it shal not aneien hem' as meaning that for those who believe and are baptized the poison of snakes cannot harm them, so their faith is put to the test. There are two or three deaths, or near deaths, every year, presumably as a result of, ultimately, a lack of faith.

<sup>58</sup>There is, of course, a difference between hearing and learning Holy Writ and reading it, but reading is one way of learning Holy Writ, and as biblical extracts are provided with the codex I have assumed that they would be read, perhaps in response to a suggestion in a text, an injunction, or out of curiosity.

the most amorphous. I have attempted to show in the discussion of this second part how the devotional and meditative tracts are, in the first instance, dependent upon the manual texts for the essentials of the faith. The devotional tracts which do touch on manual material do not go into the same detail: they do not list the commandments, breakers of them, or discuss the different branches of a particular sin. I have also suggested that the second part is primarily a series of discourses, or meditations on the theme of charity, and some of the qualities which indicate that charity is at work -- humility, meekness, love for one's subjects, and finally a species of love that is necessary for one's salvation: self-love. It is, perhaps, this, the love of the image of God in man, which finds expression, ultimately, (and following the fear of one's own damnation) in the closing sentence of Meditation I of St. Anselm: 'Resseyue me þerfore to þi mercy, mercyful Ihesu resseyue me within þe nowmbre of þi chosen, so þat I be fed in þe with hem & prayse þe with hem þat I withouten endeioy in þe, with all þo þat loueth þi name Ihesu, Amen.'

The codex, looked upon as a compilation, has as its design the growth of knowledge, not only of the faith (the manual, and its pieces), and of God himself (The Twelve Chapters of Perfection), but of man's unique relationship to God, and man's utter dependence upon



God, His love, and His mercy (Meditation I of St. Anselm, and The Stathel of Sin). It is this pattern, this progression, as it were, of man's growing awareness of God which perhaps guided the compiler in his choice of texts, and their arrangement.

## Editorial Method

### Critical Approach

In preparing the following editions of treatises from Ed I have attempted to preserve the texts as they appear in Ed, and to provide syntactical and lexical variants from all known extant copies of these texts. These are not critical editions, for I have not attempted to restore putatively original readings, nor, in fact, do I presume to know (on the available evidence) what the originals contained. There are, of course, good reasons for presenting the scribal texts of Ed without further editorial contamination.

First, the texts of Ed (and this holds true for many of the other manuscripts as well) are the product of one scribe (or perhaps scribe-compiler) who copied his texts, for, presumably, an audience. The texts, therefore, are illustrative of both the scribe-compiler's tastes and those of his audience as well. Looked upon this way, the texts of Ed (and indeed the entire manuscript) constitute a cultural artifact variously composed: it is an historical document which has in turn its own history, and the alteration of the text may well obscure this history.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a succinct account of the various aspects of literary texts, and the critical approaches to them see R.S. Crane 'The Teaching of Literary Texts', The Idea of the Humanities and other Essays Critical and Historical (Chicago, 1967), ii, 181-189.

Second, if we assume for the moment that the objective of textual criticism is the restoration (or in many cases the re-creation) of a text 'as close as possible to the original',<sup>2</sup> then we face a formidable epistemological problem: How, and in what ways, do we know the probable content of a text (or texts) which may or may not have actually existed, but is, in any event, now lost? In many cases editors, and textual critics, proceed on the assumption that an original existed, that it was composed by one person, and that they (the editors) have a particular insight into the oeuvre of this writer. Having worked on what is generally considered to be anonymous medieval English devotional prose I am not in a position to have this special insight into an oeuvre, thus I have not felt compelled to alter the text before me so that it conforms to my idea of the original. I have preferred to allow the texts of *Ed* to stand, as the scribe wrote them.

However, among the various extant copies of the texts there may well be one or more copies which through the accidents of time and place of copying are antecedent to the texts of *Ed*. I have therefore discussed the textual variation among the extant copies of the texts, and I have established textual groups based upon scribal

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Maas, Textual Criticism (1958; with changes from the third (1957) German edition; rpt. Oxford, 1972), 1.

variation in addition, omission, substitution, and word order.<sup>3</sup> In the discussions of manuscript relationships I also attempt to establish, through this variation, separate textual identities of groups of copies of a text. I have not sought to identify one copy of a text (or a group of copies) as being close to the original, but rather I have attempted to isolate those copies which depend, in all probability, upon the same immediate source(s).

It is, of course, possible to arrange these immediate sources in some coherent way so that one, or another, immediate source is prior to another, but these hypothetical arrangements depend, ultimately, upon a priori notions of originality, notions which require a separate and full treatment, and notions which are in themselves beyond the scope of this thesis.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion of scribal variation see G. Kane, 'Editorial Resources and Method', Piers Plowman: The A Version. Will's Visions of Piers Plowman and Do-Well (London, 1960), 115-172.

<sup>4</sup> I plan to pursue this topic elsewhere.

### The Selection of Devotional Tracts

In preparing an edition of Ed the following factors have made it necessary that the edition be a selective one:

(1) Several tracts contained in Ed have been edited and printed from other manuscripts; these are: The Sixteen Conditions of Charity, edited by F.D. Matthew, The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, E.E.T.S. O.S. lxxiv (1880), 353-355; a version of the Magnificat close to that of Ed printed from B.M. MS. Harley 2343 by W. Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, (London, 1842), iii, 245; and the biblical passages on ff. 100<sup>r</sup>-103<sup>v</sup> which are, with a few minor variants, verbatim extracts from the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible, edited by Forshall and Madden (Oxford, 1850). Two other tracts have been edited and are now being used, I am told, in the preparation of critical texts and will, in due time, be printed; these are: The Eight Blessings of Christ,<sup>5</sup> which is being edited by Pamela Gradon, and The Twelve Chapters of Perfection of Richard Hampole,<sup>6</sup> which is being re-edited by Margaret Amassian (for references to earlier editions of these see the description of Ed). The above tracts account for 50 folios, or almost half of the manuscript. Transcriptions of these tracts are included in the thesis.

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<sup>5</sup> Personal conversation with A. Hudson.

<sup>6</sup> Personal letter of 2 December, 1976.

(2) The remaining 20 tracts are extant in approximately 74 different copies, some of which have also been printed elsewhere (see description of Ed for references). For some of these tracts there is a complex textual history, and the reconstruction of the various histories is a time-consuming and tedious enterprise; for other tracts the textual histories are less complicated, and their reconstructions are relatively easy. The tracts also vary among themselves with regard to content, purpose and length. Because of the number of separate tracts involved and their occurrence in so many different copies, time has not allowed the editing with full critical apparatus (variants, textual notes, and discussions of manuscript relationships) of all the tracts. Some kind of selection from the 20 remaining tracts was necessary, and it was best that that selection was representative of the content, textual complexity, and biblical and patristic sources of the manuscript as a whole.

The following criteria have been used in selecting tracts to be presented with critical apparatus:

- (1) The tracts to be edited with apparatus were to be representative of the manuscript as compiled. For ease of selection I divided the tracts into categories according to their content: (i) didactic tracts; (ii) tracts of pastoral concern; (iii) meditative treatises. Selections were made

from each of these categories, and with regard to the following criteria.

- (2) Tracts were then selected for (i) the complexity of their textual traditions, and for (ii) their use of vernacular biblical and patristic sources.

(i) In selecting tracts for the complexity of their textual traditions I have been able to sort out the different versions and to establish manuscript groups or 'twigs' within the versions. This concentration on the identification of versions and manuscript groups has involved me in the wider study of devotional tracts closely related to, but not contained in, Ed. In this regard I have edited a recension of The Three Arrows, which is included in the thesis as Appendix II.

(ii) I have also selected tracts for their apparent use of vernacular biblical and patristic sources, for I have been interested in the contemporary influence of the Wycliffite Bible, and the various tracts associated with Wycliffe and the Wycliffites. Since Ed contains several long biblical passages from the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible (ff. 100<sup>r</sup>-103<sup>v</sup>), I have thought it of interest to follow up this source, and to identify similar Wycliffite extracts in the devotional tracts. This approach has been fruitful in the following tracts:

Of Lords and Husbandmen, The Ten Commandments,  
The Four Errors and The Three Arrows. Other  
vernacular sources have been noted.

The above criteria have guided me in the selection of the tracts to be presented with critical apparatus; using the same criteria a different set of tracts might have been selected, but in most instances that selection would have been less textually complex, and the range of vernacular biblical and patristic sources less varied.

The following tracts have been selected for editing with critical apparatus:

The Ten Commandments (Two Versions; didactic)  
Three Manners of Good (pastoral concern)  
The Four Errors (pastoral concern)  
Of Lords and Husbandmen (pastoral concern)  
Meditation I of St. Anselm (meditative)  
The Stathel of Sin (meditative).



## Presentation of Text, Critical Apparatus, and Notes

### Text

The text of Ed, as has been noted, is presented as it appears in the manuscript:

Manuscript lineation has been observed, and folio references are noted.

Abbreviations and contractions have been expanded and underscored.

I have preserved the Ed scribe's word division. Words which have been divided at the end of a line usually appear in the manuscript with a form of hyphen, and this linking marker has been preserved.

Capitals are editorial, but I have attempted to follow the scribe's capitalization where it seemed appropriate. Punctuation is modern, but I have been influenced by the scribe's punctuation (or marking) system,<sup>7</sup> and I have attempted to follow it.

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<sup>7</sup> I hope to pursue the punctuation of the Ed scribe (and the scribes of manuscripts closely related to Ed) in a separate note elsewhere.

### Critical Apparatus

The critical apparatus for each treatise contains all substantive (that is, syntactical and lexical) variants from all extant copies of that treatise.

The apparatus is set out in the usual manner: the lemma from Ed is followed by its variant readings. The variant readings are followed by sigla, the spelling of any one reading being indicated by the siglum immediately following it. When there are various, and differing, readings for one lemma, the different readings are separated by a semi-colon (;), with the full-stop (.) closing the variant readings for that lemma.

I have used abbreviated lemmata when the variant readings are for three or more words; for example, in Meditation I of St. Anselm, line 26, the variant appears thus:

ffor ... men (l. 30)] on. Cb. In this variant Cb omits from, and including, 'ffor' to, and including, 'ren', at line 30.

The abbreviations and contractions of the variant readings have been expanded and underscored. Capitalization and punctuation are editorial.

Occasionally the scribes of the various manuscripts blunder and either they correct or fail to note the blunder. In both cases I have attempted to record, in the variants or in the interpretative notes, these scribal errors, or corrections, for these might provide interesting information concerning textual descent. In the transcriptions, the scribal errors and corrections are noted in the margin.

For clarity and ease of reference I have placed all variant readings opposite the text. There are, however, several exceptions to this: because of the number and length of Ar's variant readings in Meditation I of St. Anselm and The Stathel of Sin, and P's lengthy addition to The Stathel of Sin, these readings have been put in a separate appendix -- Appendix I. Their place in the variants opposite the text has been noted and the reader is referred to Appendix I.

### Notes and sources

#### Notes

I have provided interpretative notes (referred to by line number) to each treatise. In these I consider some (not all) of the textual, palaeographical, lexicographical, literary, and historical problems raised either by the text of Ed or by those related to Ed. They are not intended to be exhaustive; they are merely observations of different kinds, some of which are more fully elaborated than others.

There are no notes to the transcriptions; however, for The Twelve Chapters of Perfection I have provided occasional variants in the margin. These are denoted 'Misyn' and 'Ca': for the Misyn translation see R. Harvey, ed. E.E.T.S. cvi, and for Ca see Gonville and Caius College MS. 669\*.

### Sources

I have attempted to identify as many biblical and patristic sources and analogues as possible. As many of these are mentioned (sometimes in passing) in the notes, I have collected these sources and analogues together, and put them into a more accessible separate section. Where the source or analogue is of particular interest the reader is referred to the appropriate line in the notes.

The biblical references are to the Douay-Rheims version of the Bible. Exceptions to this are noted both in the notes and in the separate list of sources.

**The Versions and Manuscript Relationships  
of The Ten Commandments**

**H.U.L. MS. 93 (Ed) contains two distinct and hitherto unedited versions of The Ten Commandments:**

**(1) Rhetorical Version<sup>1</sup>, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>, defective at the beginning (wanting approximately one folio) and omitting the ninth and tenth commandments. (For further discussion of Ed's imperfections see the note on the arrangement of the Rhetorical Version preceding the text.) The same version is also found in Bodleian MS. Tanner 336 (Tn<sub>1</sub>), ff. 141<sup>r</sup>-145<sup>v</sup>.**

**(11) Mixed or Discursive-Rhetorical Version, ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>. The same version is also found in Trinity College Cambridge MS. R.3.21 (601), (T), ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>.**

**In this introduction to the versions of The Ten Commandments a separate account of the Rhetorical, Discursive, and Mixed versions of The Ten Commandments will be provided; the placing of the two Ed treatises with respect to one or more of these three versions will be discussed; the textual relationships of each treatise will be briefly considered, and there will be an account of the possible method of composition of the longer and more complex mixed version**

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<sup>1</sup> The classification of texts as 'Rhetorical' or 'Mixed' is discussed in sections I, II, ~~III~~ III of this introduction. For references to these manuscripts, see 'Manuscripts: Descriptions and Notices'.

of Ed, and T.

In studying the manuscript relationships of the Middle English texts of The Ten Commandments several matters have to be taken into account, not least of which are the attempts of modern scholars to construct a literary or cultural background for individual texts. The attempts have usually been directed toward establishing (or denying) a connexion between the text at hand and that of Wyclif's 'De Ten Commandments' in Bodley MS. 789:<sup>2</sup> thus Curt Böhler in 'The Middle English Texts of Morgan MS. 861' suggests that 'the present tract [The Ten Commandments] may possibly be the "pre-existing commentary" which Arnold believed Wyclif may have used. Böhler's suggestion is rejected by A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert who in 'The Wyclifite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments, with special reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library' state that Rylands English MS. 85 'is closer at virtually every point to the Wyclif original than Morgan 861'.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Arnold argues for the Wycliffite or Lollard origin of Bodley 789: see his Select English Works of John Wyclif (Oxford, 1869-71), iii, 82, hereafter cited as 'Arnold'. Others more concerned to define the relationship of their manuscript with reference to Bodley 789 are: W. Nelson Francis, ed. The Book of Vices and Virtues, E.E.T.S. O.S. ccxvii, Appendix I, 316, (B.M. Additional 22283), hereafter referred to as Vices and Virtues, Appendix I. See also the following two notes,

<sup>3</sup> P.M.L.A. lxix (1954), 688, fn. 6.

<sup>4</sup> B.J.R.L. xlii (1960), 370, hereafter referred to as 'Kellogg and Talbert'.

The Kellogg-Talbert argument is, as shown in some detail in the Appendix on their article,<sup>5</sup> a weak one, for both the Rylands and the Morgan texts are, in structure and content, very similar. Also the readings used to connect the Rylands text with that of Bodley 789 are quoted out of context, and without regard to the larger structural dissimilarities separating the texts of the two treatises. Kellogg and Talbert attempt to account for the obvious differences between the various texts by discerning in these extant texts a pattern of progressive compression or expansion of the Ten Commandments treatise;<sup>6</sup> that is, the 'pre-existing commentary' of, for example, B.M. MS. Add. 22283<sup>7</sup> is over a period of time compressed, perhaps by

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix III: A Note on A.L. Kellogg and Ernest W. Talbert's 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments, with special reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library', B.J.R.L. xlii (1960), 345-77, hereafter referred to as 'Appendix III'.

<sup>6</sup> Kellogg and Talbert, 365. They divide the manuscripts into

- I. Orthodox or 'Pre-existing' Commentary
- II. Wycliffite Commentary
  - A. Version Attributed to Wyclif
  - B. Expanded Versions
  - C. Compressed Versions

For a critique of the 'Compressed Versions' see Appendix III.

<sup>7</sup> B.M. Add. 22283 is, with eleven other manuscripts, assigned to 'I. Orthodox or 'Pre-existing' Commentary'.

Wyclif, or by Wycliffites; at another stage it is expanded, and at still another it is compressed yet again. This argument, on the face of it, seems plausible: many of the devotional tracts in the Ed manuscript preserve evidence of compression or expansion, but as the variant readings for the two Ed treatises on The Ten Commandments indicate, the compression and expansion are usually confined to matters of content: words, phrases, perhaps whole sentences,<sup>8</sup> but rarely is any part of the structure of the treatise so compressed or expanded that it no longer resembles its putative common source.<sup>9</sup> The two studies mentioned above -- Bühler's and Kellogg and Talbert's -- have ignored the structure, the organization of the commentary-argument, and have focused on individual readings, presumably those stemming from a Wyclif original; this concentration on the particular readings within certain treatises of The Ten Commandments has not advanced the study of the textual relationships among these treatises.

Before attempting to establish whether a treatise is or is not close, textually, to the Wyclif original, it is best that each text first be classified according to structure

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<sup>8</sup> The Ed and T scribes often omitted, substituted or added words, phrases, and sentences: see, for example, the mixed version, lines 40, 65-66, 73-74, 82-84, 87-90 for additions and omissions. The text contains Latin headings for each commandment, but the 'omission' of these in Ed does not alter the commentary of the discursive and rhetorical sections, nor does it occasion a structural change.

<sup>9</sup> For appreciable variation in structure which does not affect the dependence upon the same common source see 'The Manuscript Relationships of The Four Errors'.



and content thus providing textual groups; after establishing textual groups then it is possible to go on and to comment on the probability or improbability of any one text being a descendant of any other.<sup>10</sup> The following discussion is concerned primarily with establishing different textual groups among the various manuscripts catalogued by Kellogg and Talbert, those noted by Dr. A.I. Doyle and those others hitherto unnoticed.<sup>11</sup> The possible textual relationship of different manuscripts to the Wyclif original of Bodley 789 will be commented on, but only in so far as the occurrence

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<sup>10</sup> Textual groups, possible lines of descent, and contamination seem to be of secondary importance to Kellogg and Talbert in their analysis of Rylands English 85, Morgan 861 and Bodley 789. The pressure of their argument is toward establishing a connexion between Rylands English 85 and Bodley 789.

<sup>11</sup> For manuscripts catalogue by Kellogg and Talbert, see their article, noted above, pp. 363-366. Dr. A.I. Doyle, in a personal letter of 22 June, 1975, supplied the following list of manuscripts: 'A number of other texts I have noted however beginning "God hym self ..." but not as continuing in the same way, some uncertain, some "Who brak þese commaundementes..." e.g. Hunter v.8.15, Bodley 938, Trin. Oxford 86, New College 67, Dr. Williams Anc. 3, Add. 28026, Cambridge U.L. II. vi.43, Trin. Dublin 70...'. In addition to Kellogg and Talbert's catalogue and Dr. Doyle's list the following manuscripts also contain the relevant versions of The Ten Commandments and were located in the course of research: Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 209, ff. 2<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>; E.U.L. MS. 93, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>; Bodl. MS. Tanner 336, ff. 141<sup>r</sup>-145<sup>v</sup>; Trinity Coll., Cambridge MS.R.3.21 (601), ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>. A new catalogue incorporating the above manuscripts, list, and catalogue is included in this introduction.

of certain readings is possibly attributable to the existence of a Wyclif original or Wyclif-like original: the central concern of this introduction is with the versions of The Ten Commandments, and not with the dependence of any one text on some original to which access cannot be proven.

In the opening paragraphs of this introduction the terms 'Rhetorical Version', 'Discursive Version' and 'Mixed' or 'Discursive-rhetorical Version' of The Ten Commandments were used as labels for particular types of texts. These terms are, it is suggested, more useful than 'Version attributed to Wyclif', 'Expanded Versions' and 'Compressed Versions' in characterizing, and classifying, the different extant versions of The Ten Commandments, for they allow one to discriminate between them and to classify them with regard to major and obvious structural elements, rather than to the alleged author, and the length of the tract. At a later stage, and with a more restricted purpose, it may be useful to think in terms of Wyclif-influenced texts.

As the following study will involve frequent mention of various manuscripts, it is best that a catalogue, with sigla, be set out. For ease of discussion, manuscripts mentioned hereafter will be referred to by their sigla.

## Versions of The Ten Commandments

### A Catalogue of Manuscripts Affiliated with Ed<sup>x</sup>

#### Rhetorical Versions

##### Type I

- (J) Rylands MS. English 85, ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>. [A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert, eds., 'The Wyclifite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments ...', B.J.R.L. xlii (1960), 371-376].
- (Te) Trinity College, Dublin MS. 70, ff. 174<sup>v</sup>-181<sup>r</sup>.
- (C<sub>5</sub>) Cambridge University Library MS. II.6.43, ff. 3<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>v</sup>.
- (RW) Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 209, ff. 2<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>.
- (M) Morgan MS. 861, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>. [C. Böhler, ed., 'The Middle English Texts of Morgan MS. 861', P.M.L.A. lxix (1954), 686-692].

##### Type II

- (Ed) E.U.L. MS. 93, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>.
- (Ta<sub>1</sub>) Bodl. MS. Tanner 336, ff. 141<sup>r</sup>-145<sup>v</sup>.
- (B) Bodl. MS. 938, ff. 16<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>v</sup>.
- (N<sub>1</sub>) New College, Oxford MS. 67, ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>.
- (Ty) Trinity College, Oxford MS. 86, f. 54<sup>v</sup> (fragment).

#### Discursive Versions

##### Type I

- (S) B.M. MS. Additional 22283, ff. 92<sup>r</sup>-93<sup>v</sup>. [W.N. Francis, ed., Book of Vices and Virtues P.E.T.S. O.S. cxxvii, (1942) Appendix I, 316-333].
- (Hn<sub>1</sub>) Huntington MS. HM 744, f. 13<sup>v</sup> \*
- (L<sub>2</sub>) Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 524, f. 11<sup>r</sup>-19.

- (U) University College, Oxford MS. 97, ff. 85<sup>r</sup>-93<sup>v</sup>.
- (W) Westminster School MS. 3, ff. 73<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>r</sup>.
- (St) Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, Paris MS. 3390, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>.
- (Pr) Garrett MS. [Princeton Univ. Deposit 1459], f. 1\*.
- (H<sub>5</sub>) B.M. MS. Harley 218, f. 159\* [f. 83<sup>r</sup> in Harleian catalogue].
- (H<sub>6</sub>) B.M. MS. Harley 2346, f. 34<sup>r\*</sup>.
- (Ra) B.M. MS. Royal XVII A 26, f. 4<sup>r\*</sup>.

#### Type II

- (B<sub>1</sub>) Bodl. MS. 789, ff. 108-123. [T. Arnold, ed., Select English Works of John Wyclif (Oxford 1869-71), iii, 82-92].

#### Type III

- (C<sub>3</sub>) Cambridge University Library MS. Nn.4.12, ff. 3<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>.
- (A<sub>1</sub>) B.M. MS. Additional 27592, ff. 42<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>.
- (E) Emmanuel College, Cambridge MS. 246, ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>v</sup>.

#### Mixed or Discursive-Rhetorical Versions.

##### Type I

- (Lb) Lambeth MS. 408, ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>r</sup> [T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, eds., Lay Folks' Catechism, E.E.T.S. O.S. cxviii. (1901; rpt. Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1975), 33-57].

##### Type II

- (Ed) E.U.L. MS. 93, ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>.
- (T) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.3.21 (601), ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>.

\* An Asterisk indicates that the manuscript has not yet been consulted, and is included on the authority of Kellogg and Talbert and their catalogue.

‡ This catalogue has been compiled according to the classification in the Introduction to the versions of The Ten Commandments.... Acknowledgement is again made to A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert's article 'The Wyclifite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments...', B.J.R.L. xlii (1960), 365-366; Dr. A.I. Doyle has also made numerous suggestions and these, too, are here again acknowledged (see fn. 11, above).

## I. Rhetorical Versions

'Rhetorical' is here used to describe a kind of text that is compact (when compared to other and different extant texts), rigidly organized, and, with respect to the internal structure of each commandment, repetitive.<sup>12</sup> Texts of the rhetorical version type are organized thus:

- (i) Statement of commandment, or brief note of commandment.
- (ii) General query about 'Who brekyth this heeste', followed by list of breakers.
- (iii) Specific query about, for example, 'Whi mycheris?', followed by the answer, which may or may not be supported by a biblical or patristic citation or quotation.

The above structure, or organization, is used throughout the various individual commandments: thus the reader

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<sup>12</sup> The term 'rhetorical' is adopted with some hesitation, but as the texts under consideration seem to fulfill in part Aristotle's criteria for good rhetorical prose style the term has been used as descriptive of the texts: see The Rhetoric of Aristotle, translated by R.C. Jebb, edited by J.E. Sandys (Cambridge, 1909), 164 [Book III, viii-ix] and the discussion of the 'language of prose', and Aristotle's distinction between 'the running style' and 'the compact style'. For the influence of Aristotelian rhetoric on (and its fate in) the medieval sermon see Etienne Gilson, 'Michel Menot et la Technique du Sermon Medieval', Les Idees et les Lettres, Deuxième ed. (Paris, 1955), 93-154; and the following articles by Harry Caplan, 'Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching', Classical Philology, xxviii (1933), 73-96, esp. pp. 77 ff.; "Henry of Hesse" On The Art of Preaching', P.M.L.A. lviii (1933), 340-361, for a useful tract on the art of preaching; and 'Rhetorical Invention in some Mediaeval Tractates on Preaching', Speculum ii (1927), 288-295.

having read<sup>13</sup> a rhetorical version of The Ten Commandments ought to know the commandments, the different kinds of people who break these commandments, and (in some cases) biblical and patristic judgements on the breakers. A good example of this type of text is provided by C<sub>5</sub> below; other samples from different commandments and manuscripts can be found in Appendix III and in the edited text of Ed's rhetorical version, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>, with variants from Tn<sub>1</sub>.

C<sub>5</sub>, ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>,<sup>14</sup>

[T]he seuenþe comaundement. [T]he seuenþe  
comaundement of all mystty god is þys:  
þu shalt do no þefte. What men breken þis

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<sup>13</sup>The rhetorical version tracts seem especially suitable for reading aloud, for there is the statement of commandment followed by a series of questions, questions which could be put to an audience. Several of the rhetorical versions occur in manuscripts which may well have been catechisms, e.g. M, J, and Tc.

<sup>14</sup>Since no printed edition of this text exists, the following edited text is provided, and with the following editorial changes: abbreviations are expanded and marked; modern punctuation, capitalization, and lineation is provided; emendations are made where necessary and are enclosed in square brackets. Other texts, either accessible in this thesis, or available in print, are presented without editorial treatment.

seuen<sup>be</sup> comaundement? Micherys & robberyys &  
 extorcionerys. Why mycherys? For þey stelen preuly.  
 þ<sup>e</sup> profete Osee in þ<sup>e</sup> iiij c<sup>o</sup>. seieþ: truþ<sup>e</sup>  
 is not in erþ<sup>e</sup> but cursednes & þefte. Mercy  
 is a wey & science of þ<sup>e</sup> lord, for þys þynge  
 shall morne all þat dwellen þer yme. Why  
 robberyys? For þey robben openly. / Ysaie þ<sup>e</sup> profit  
 seyeþ [xxxiii] c<sup>o</sup>: Wo to þ<sup>e</sup> þat robbest, wheþer  
 þy sylf shall not be robbed. Whan þ<sup>u</sup> hast  
 full robbed þan shall þ<sup>u</sup> be robbed.

Why extorcionerys? For þey spoylen men  
 of her godys falsly. þ<sup>e</sup> wyseman seyeþ sapiens  
 .ij. c<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> vnpiteous man seyeþ begyle we þ<sup>e</sup>  
 rystwys man for vnprofitable he is to vs &  
 contrary to oure werkys, by most foule deþ  
 condempne wee him & so proue we þ<sup>e</sup> pacions  
 of him.

The texts of Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> are very close to that of  
 C<sub>5</sub>, J and M but they are distinct as the following passages  
 from Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> indicate.

Ed (lines 67 ff.):

But þus mychers, robbers & extorsioners  
 breken his heste. Why mychers? For þe  
 stelen preuely, as seith þe profet Osee:  
 troweth is not in erth, but cursidnes &

theft, & mercy is a wey & science of þe  
 lord, for þis thynges all þat dwelleth  
 þerin shuld mourne. Why robbers? ....

[Ed, from this point on follows, for the most  
 part, the version of C<sub>5</sub>, J, and M.]

Tn<sub>1</sub>, f. 144<sup>r</sup>;

The sevenþ comaundement of god is  
 þis: þou schalt do no þefte. And þis breken  
 michers, robbers & extorcioners. Whi michers?  
 For þei stelen priueli, as þe prophete osee  
 seiþ .iiij. c<sup>o</sup>: Trupe is not in erþe, but  
 cursidnesse & þefte, & mercie is away, and  
 science of þe lord, for þis þing schal mourne  
 alle þat dwellen þere ynne. Whi robbers? ....

[Tn<sub>1</sub>, from this point on, follows, for the most part,  
 the version of C<sub>5</sub>, J and M.]

Several similarities and dissimilarities, not confined  
 to the seventh commandment, are worth noting: (i) The Ed  
 and Tn<sub>1</sub> texts have the same structure as C<sub>5</sub>, J, and M:  
 this structure is characterized by its dependence upon the  
 question (and its response) as an organizing element within  
 the treatise itself. (ii) The Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> texts also have  
 the same supporting biblical and patristic material and in  
 the same order as the version of C<sub>5</sub>, J, and M. However,  
 while the structure and general content are similar, there  
 are important distinctions within the texts of Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub>



that set them apart textually from the other version.

(1) The rhetorical version texts of Ed and part of Tn<sub>1</sub> do not have the statement of commandment and supporting biblical text; for example, the Ed text begins the fourth commandment without mention of the commandment, or the question of who breaks it:

And so vnkynde men, froward men & rebel men  
breken þis heste. Why vnkynde men?

Likewise, the Tn<sub>1</sub> text begins the fourth commandment without reference to the content of the commandment itself:

Who breken þe fourþ commaundement? Vnkynde  
men, frowarde men & rebel men. Whi vnkynde men?

However, Tn<sub>1</sub> is not consistent in this, for with the fifth commandment (and those subsequent) the full commandment is mentioned:

þe fifþe comaundement is þis: Thou schalt  
sla noman, neiþer wiþ þine hookis, ne in þi wille.  
And þis breken enuyouse men, wrapful men, &  
auerous men. Whi enuiouse men?

This abrupt shift in Tn<sub>1</sub> may well be the result, ultimately, of the mixture, or conflation, of two different types of rhetorical versions: one type organized around the question 'Who breken þe \_\_\_\_ commandment?' and another type built upon the

statement of the commandment, plus the assertion 'And þis [þus] breken \_\_\_\_ men, \_\_\_\_ men, & \_\_\_\_ men.' It is fairly clear that Ed depends upon this latter kind of rhetorical version, for each of its commandments begins: 'And so [þus, þies] \_\_\_\_ men, \_\_\_\_ men, & \_\_\_\_ men breken þis heste.' The Ed text, like that of Tn<sub>1</sub>, goes on to ask the question 'Whi \_\_\_\_ men?' and supplies the answer; in this respect, as well as in the citation of biblical and patristic texts, Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> follow the main tradition of the rhetorical version.

(ii) There is one other unique feature that suggests that the text of Tn<sub>1</sub> is a distinct type of text within the rhetorical version tradition: The Tn<sub>1</sub> tract begins, formally, with the incipit: 'Here is declarid breueli who breken þe ten comaundementis of god', and ends formally with the explicit: 'Here eendiþ þe X comaundementis schortli declarid. Almiȝti ihesu graunte us grace to kepe hem.' It seems that by design The Ten Commandments of Tn<sub>1</sub> were to be 'declarid breueli', and the text, at least through the fourth commandment, follows this design: the text is shorn of the commandments and the biblical material cited in support of them. The focus is on the breakers of the commandments, and the reader is not allowed to forget that.

As noted above, Tn<sub>1</sub> is unique among the extant manuscripts in stating at the outset the intention to be 'declarid breueli'. However, Ed, which might have provided corroboration at this point, is defective at the beginning and incomplete at the end; but the structure and content of the remaining Ed text -- the lack of the statement of commandment,

and a similar lack of biblical text prior to the list of breakers -- indicate that the Ed text is related to that of Tn<sub>1</sub>, and is of the same type within the rhetorical version. Given the defective nature of the Ed tract it is not possible to state with any certainty more than that (i) the Ed tract of The Ten Commandments (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>) is firmly within the rhetorical version, a version best represented by the text(s) of J, M, and C<sub>5</sub>; and that (ii) the Ed tract is more closely related to the text of Tn<sub>1</sub> than to any other text within or without the rhetorical version tradition. However, Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> are not so closely related that either can have copied from the other, and while it is probable that Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> descend from the same common source, it is not probable that they descend immediately from the same source.

## II. Discursive Versions

'Discursive' is used here to describe texts which have as their general organizing principle the movement from a premise (in this case the statement of a commandment) to a conclusion (that it is in the interest of God and the sinner that the commandment be obeyed). Generally, the internal structure of each commandment (beyond premise and conclusion) is best described as digressive and, with regard to the cited biblical text, exegetical.<sup>15</sup> Specifically, the internal

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<sup>15</sup>With respect to matters of form, and the movement from 'premise' to 'conclusion', the discursive versions are best seen as products of the artes praedicandi, which as Caplan points out 'owe as much eventually to Aristotle's logical works as to the doctrines of the art of rhetoric proper', "Henry of Hesse" on The Art of Preaching, 343.

structure of the commandments of the discursive versions can be formally characterized as dialectical in the sense that the commandment itself is a 'proposition' to be analyzed for its truth; the 'proofs' cited in support of the truth of the proposition are biblical and patristic authorities, and the 'conclusion' is the restatement of the initial proposition, usually with an expanded tropological sense.

However, while this dialectical structure is not adhered to rigidly in all of the commandments, it is, perhaps, the most obvious of the various exegetical methods used in the different commandments and in the several treatises. The function of each commandment may, in the end, be that stated by the writer of B<sub>1</sub>: 'And so þiise ten hestis ben as ten mirouris þat men may se hemself ynne'; in the making of the 'mirouris' the writer is at liberty, within the allowable conventions of homiletic prose,<sup>16</sup> to use whatever structural or organizing principles were available. It is worth remarking that the actual verbal structure of the discursive versions is not, as in the rhetorical versions, repetitive: there is not the reliance upon the question 'Who breken þe \_\_\_\_ commandment?', nor upon its sequel 'And

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<sup>16</sup> Henry of Hesse, among others, identifies four methods in preaching: '(1) The oldest, and this Christ used, as well as many holy doctors after him. (2) The modern. (3) The old, which flourished after Christ and the saintly theologians, and before the moderns. (4) The substitute, gathered from all these methods I have mentioned'. "Henry of Hesse" on The Art of Preaching, 347; The methods are discussed on pp. 348-359.

pis [pus] broken \_\_\_\_ men, \_\_\_\_ men, & \_\_\_\_ men.'

The discursive versions, as stated above, are less rigid in internal structure, less rhetorical (in the sense suggested earlier), and perhaps as a result (not a necessary consequence) of this looser organization there is greater variation among the various extant texts of the discursive versions of The Ten Commandments than among the rhetorical versions texts. It is possible, however, to distinguish two types of discursive versions texts: Type I represented by S<sup>17</sup> and Type II, represented by B<sub>1</sub>, (hereafter referred to as Type I and Type II respectively). The two types of texts differ, usually, in content, and when the content is occasionally the same the arrangement of the content will differ; the two texts also have different conclusions. Kellogg and Talbert have compared the two types of texts,<sup>18</sup> and have concluded that B<sub>1</sub> (Type II) is indeed indebted to an S-like text (Type I) for much of its content, and perhaps structure. What Kellogg and Talbert have not noted, however, is the major, and distinctive addition of Type II, the conclusion to each commandment.

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<sup>17</sup> Arnold, iii, 82, distinguished between the commentary of B<sub>1</sub> and 'the mild and colourless commentary of the Laud [L<sub>2</sub>] MS.' and U; Kellogg and Talbert, 367-369, suggest that B<sub>1</sub> may be derived from a version close to that of S (to which L<sub>2</sub> and U are related).

<sup>18</sup> Kellogg and Talbert, 367-369.

The conclusion to the first commandment of Type II reappears, in a much reworked form, in two other treatises on The Ten Commandments -- C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> --<sup>19</sup> and since these two treatises are (with the exception of the first commandment) closely connected with the second Ed treatise on The Ten Commandments it is best that their relationships to Types I and II be clarified now, and within the context of the discursive versions. Besides the conclusion to the first commandment, there are also other points of contact between these two treatises and Types I and II, notably in the first part of the Prologue, and in the second commandment (see discussion in Appendix III). A brief discussion of the textual relationships, Prologue, second commandment, and conclusion is provided below.

(1) The connexion between Type I, Type II, and C<sub>3</sub> is not a purely textual one; that is, if the scribe of the common source of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> used a Type I or II text it was not so much as an exemplar to be copied as a text to be responded to, to be inspired by. Given the diversity of the texts it is not possible to establish a definite textual connexion. However, as the following observations indicate, it is possible to note similarities in the subject matter and its treatment, and thus to

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<sup>19</sup> Dr. A.I. Doyle, in a personal letter of 22 June, 1975, furnished references to these two manuscripts, but with regard to The Seven Deadly Sins, The Five Wits and The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost. C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> also have the same version of The Seven Deadly Sins.

establish possible lines of influence<sup>20</sup> within specific sections of the treatise. It must be noted though that these lines of influence do not preclude the possibility that C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> represent a third type of text, a Type III as it were. The following points consider various lines of influence which suggest that this possible third type may have its beginnings in Types I and II.

(11) The first paragraph of the Prologue of C<sub>3</sub> (A<sub>1</sub> does not have the first paragraph) parallels Type I (S); the Prologue of Type II appears to be a reworking of the Type I Prologue, and is unique. The second paragraph of the Prologue of C<sub>3</sub> parallels that of J, as does the text of A<sub>1</sub>. As noted in Appendix III the Prologue is occasionally treated as a separate item (with incipit and explicit) and as such it may well have a separate textual history. One textual feature is clear, however, with the exception of J, the Prologue (in its various forms) usually appears in discursive and mixed versions, and not rhetorical versions.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> A 'line of influence' as used here (and elsewhere in this thesis) is descriptive of certain phrases, sentences, and, in the end, specific ideas, and occasionally matters of style which are common to two or more manuscripts. Such a descriptive term is used when close and consistent textual correspondence between two or more manuscripts is lacking, thus making the establishment of specific lines of descent impossible. A line of influence, as I use it, is an attempt to account for the presence of certain verbal resonances in one manuscript by reference to another, or others. With more evidence or greater textual correspondence, a line of influence may suggest a line of descent.

<sup>21</sup> Manuscripts having the Prologue of J, in whole or part, are: T, ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>; C<sub>3</sub>, f. 3<sup>rv</sup>; Ed, f. 4<sup>r</sup> (part); A<sub>1</sub>, f. 42<sup>r</sup> (part).

(iii) Likewise, the second commandment of  $C_3$  (see Appendix III) and  $A_1$  also appears to be connected with the discursive versions, but, again, the attempt to assign it to any one type within the discursive versions meets with difficulties. In these two treatises the entire commentary on the second commandment is devoted to 'Jeremy þe prophet seiþ: þat to a iuste oþer longiþ thre thinges'; assuming ultimate descent from a Type I or Type II text, then either the commentary is a collapsed version of Type I, or it is a slightly condensed version of Type II, itself a condensation of Type I.<sup>22</sup> The substance and structure of the commentary seem to argue for dependence upon a Type II text: focus on Jeremiah iv, 2; paraphrase of Matthew v, 37 (rather than a literal translation of Matthew v, 34 - 37); and an argument-commentary constructed around the above biblical texts in English rather than around a more expansive treatment in Latin and English as in Type I (which adds Acts iv, 12, and Philipians ii, 10).

(iv) A comparison of the concluding commentaries to the first commandment (set out below) suggests a slightly more tangible dependence upon the Type II text:

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<sup>22</sup> See Kellogg and Talbert, 370, and Arnold, iii, 82.



Type II (B<sub>1</sub>, Arnold, lii, 83 - 84) conclusion to first commandment:

And so þe proude man makip þe feend his god. Þus  
it is in dede, howeuer oure mouþ blabre. And so  
preestis þat prechen moore to haue a loos, opir for  
wynnyng of worldli goodis, opir lustis of hire beli,  
makyn fals leeknesse in hevene and erþe and water.  
And þus mai men knowe how þese maundementis ben  
brokyn, boþe of preestis and of seculeres. And so  
in trust of ymagis many ben disceyved, in hope of  
help or helpe in a maner neede, as þe olde lawe and  
þe newe witnyssen. Þe Dedis of Apostlis, in þe  
seventenþe chapiter, seiþ þus; Siþen God is Lord  
of hevene and of erþe, he woneþ not in templis maad  
wiþ hondis, ne he is worschipid wiþ mannys honde,  
for þat he haþ neede of any þinge þat man doþ, siþen  
he giveth unto alle liif, and wynde enspiryng, and  
al opir þing .... And siþþe we ben þe kyn of God, us  
auste not suppose þat þat perteyneth unto God is like  
unto gold or silver or ston, of þe craft of gravityng,  
or of mannys hond-worchyng. For þat þing þat is  
hise to men, is abhominacioun bifore God. But, for  
we knowyn him litil, we loven him þe lesse.

A<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>3</sub> (text), f. 17r, conclusion to first commandment:

And as it is a cursede avoutrie a man to drawe a  
weie some of is loue from his trwe wife and sette  
it on is concubynes, so it is gostli a cursed  
avoutrie to god a man to drawe ony part of his loue,  
riper of 'his' truste and sette it on oþer dede  
ymages, or on dremes, or on ony oþer fantasyes.  
Ffor god wilnot þus be worschiped in dede ymages,  
bot in quicke man, þi whiche ben oneli goddes  
ymages, and lickenesse of þe holi trynite; þis  
is þe treuthe, al þif auaryce of worldli prestes and  
blynde customes of þe leved peple, bi illusions of  
þe feend, faste and misttylich defendynge þe contrarie  
of þis matere, more trauaylynge for offrynge of  
wordly godes þan for helpe of mannes soule or pore  
mannes profite, as her dede schewiþ. And suche  
viciouse prestes ben vnable to be cleped harden of  
mannes soules, for holy writte clepeþ wicked prestes  
blynde lederes in þe gospelle of matheu, þe fifeteþ  
chapitur [m. xv<sup>o</sup>., marginalium] .... And suche  
viciouse prestes folow þou noust, neiþer leue hem  
noust listli to þei despice her synne, and go  
vertuesliche þe rist weie to heuene.

The following consideration is not so much a textual  
study as it is an appraisal of the possible literary  
influence of one type of text upon another. C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub>,  
like B<sub>1</sub> (Type II), mention priests, and the often bad

example they set: 'And so precentis þat prechen moore to haue a loos, oþir for wynnyng of worldli goodis, oþir iustis of hire beli, makyn fals leeknesse in hevene and erþe and water', (B<sub>1</sub>); 'And suche vicious prestes ben vnable to be cleped herdes of mannes soules, for holy writte clepeþ wicked prestes blynde lederes in þe gospelle of matheu', (text of C<sub>3</sub>, see also A<sub>1</sub>). No other extant texts mention priests.

Another feature, unique to these three texts, is the linking of false gods with images: 'And so in trust of ymages many ben disceyved, in hope of help or helpe in a maner neede, as be olde lawe and þe newe witnyssen .... Siben God is Lord of hevene and of erþe, he woneþ not in templs read wiþ hondis, ne he is worschipid wiþ mannys honde ...' (B<sub>1</sub>); 'so it is gostli a cursed avoutrie to god a ren to drave any part of his loue, oþer of 'his' truste and sette it on oþer dede ymages, or on dremes, or on any oþer fantasyes. For god wilnot þus be worschipid in dede ymages ...', (text of C<sub>3</sub>, see also A<sub>1</sub>). C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> are, admittedly, more virulent in their denunciations of priests, and the suggestion of an image (in the notion of the 'straunge goddes' of the first commandment) receives far more attention in them than it does in B<sub>1</sub>, but the vehement tone, and the unbalanced discussion, do not materially affect the possible literary connexion between B<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>A<sub>1</sub>: these three texts, for this one commandment and its conclusion, agree in substance and tone. It is not

possible (with the evidence available) to state with any certainty that the C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> texts were influenced by the text of B<sub>1</sub>, but the evidence adduced does at least suggest that behind the text of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub>, and at some stage, there lay a B<sub>1</sub>-like text.

Of equal uncertainty is the extent of their debt to the Type I text. It can be argued that the common source or a much condensed version like that of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> may have been influenced by a fuller text at some stage in the composition of the treatise (note reference to 'Jeremy be prophet')<sup>23</sup> If this did occur then the texts of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> may preserve an abridged version (with interpolations) of a one-time longer version. A problem arises, however, when suitable longer versions are being sought out as possible influential sources. The analogous references, and vaguely similar content, are of little value in establishing textual connexions. At best one is left with possible lines of influence, and for the texts of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> these lines of influence run through both Type I and Type II. It is well to keep in mind that much of what has been said regarding the texts of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> will hold true for the discursive section of the second Ed treatise on The Ten Commandments, a text to which a separate section will be devoted.

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<sup>23</sup> See fn. 31, esp. (i) and (ii) for additional evidence of probable access to a fuller text.

In the above discussion of the discursive and rhetorical versions a classification of the various extant texts of The Ten Commandments has been attempted. This classification has been based upon a study of the structures, and organizing principles of the texts, and it was prompted, in the first instance, by an earlier attempt to account for the obvious differences between the two Ed treatises on The Ten Commandments. One Edinburgh treatise has been discussed and placed among the rhetorical versions; however, the other treatise is not so easily placed, for it combines structural features associated with both discursive and rhetorical versions: thus, this text is called the Mixed or Discursive-Rhetorical Version. It will be referred to in the following section as Mixed.

### III. The Mixed (or Discursive-Rhetorical) Versions.

'Mixed' is used to describe a text which in its structure is composed of specific portions of discursive and rhetorical version texts. That is, any given commandment in the mixed version text will have two separate and distinct sections: (i) the commentary, or argument, will be discursive (and perhaps related to one of the established discursive versions), and (ii) the conclusion will be rhetorical (and usually a condensation of one of the rhetorical versions).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The present structural classification does not rule out the possibility that there might be mixed texts which do not fit the above criteria; when (and if) such texts are found then the criteria, and perhaps the idea mixed, will have to be reinterpreted in light of the new evidence.

The following is a study of the structure and content of the treatise on The Ten Commandments found in both the Ed and T manuscripts;<sup>25</sup> it is an account (in so far as this is possible) of the way this treatise took the shape it has in this version. In this study of the structure and content of Ed and T's treatise, the various ways in which it is similar to or dissimilar from the other extant treatises on The Ten Commandments will be specified. Such a study will allow one to place the texts of Ed and T relative to these and it will also provide the necessary background material for a necessarily more speculative account of the way the text took shape.

It has already been noted that the EdT treatise is a mixed or discursive-rhetorical version, and that such versions have a discursive commentary and a rhetorical conclusion, and that each section is separate; such a structure is apparent in the following extract from the commentary and conclusion<sup>26</sup> of the first commandment:

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<sup>25</sup> Ed, ff. 4<sup>r</sup> - 10<sup>v</sup>, and T, ff. 2<sup>v</sup> - 6<sup>r</sup> have the same version of The Ten Commandments treatise. There are minor differences between the two texts of this treatise, but these are dealt with in a later section.

<sup>26</sup> A comparison of the various statements of commandments might prove useful in identifying and clarifying textual connexions; but as such a comparison involves the added, and as yet unsettled, textual complexities of the Earlier and Later Versions of the Wycliffite Bible, it is best that such complexities be set aside, and that the lesser textual complexities of the commentary and conclusion be dealt with: see Appendix III, fn. 8 and references there cited.

Ed (lines 21 ff.):

Thys is þe first heest of god almyghty,  
 commaundyng all affeccions, all loue,  
 all worschype, and all þe ioy of mannes  
 hert be doon to our lord Ihesu crist.  
 Here god commaundith þat all mannes  
 bileue, trust, and loue be set onely in  
 god & in none oþer thyng ayenst his wil.  
 And here he forfendith all bileue & trust  
 in all maner wichecraftes, sweuenes,  
 charmes, coniurisons, for þo þat putten  
 her bileue or trust in eny suche, withdrawyng  
 somewhat of her bileue & trust fro god, & so  
 brekyng þis heste. Also proude men, wordely  
 men, and fleshly men breken þis heest. Why  
 proude men? For þei maken þe deuel her  
 god. Why worldely men? For þei make worldely  
 goodys her god. Why fleshly men? For þei  
 maken her belies her god.

There is an abrupt shift between '& so brekyng  
 þis heste' and 'Also proude men', and it seems that this  
 shift may signal a movement from one version to another.  
 The reader is not prepared for this list of 'breakers'  
 as he is in, for example, the rhetorical version where  
 the statement of commandment, and its brief exposition,  
 is followed by the general query 'Who brekiþ þe first  
 comaundement'. A similar transitional phrase or question

is also found in Lb, a mixed text much resembling the Ed and T version. It is worth setting out an extract from Lb, not only to demonstrate its smooth transition into the list of breakers, but also this similarity in structure and general content to the EdT version.

Lb (Lay Folks' Catechism, E.E.T.S. O.S. cxviii, 35):

þou most loue hym with al þyn herte.  
and seke his worschipe. and plese hym be  
fore alle oþer thyngys. If þou do þis wel:  
þou most stody to kepe his comaundementys  
and his lawe be-fore alle oþer preceptys and  
lawes maad of men for ellys þou louyst not  
hys lawe be-fore oþer. and so not hym-self  
be-fore al oþer thyngys Also þou most forsake  
al maner wycchecraftys, and coniuryngs of  
fendys. and þat þou seke nat trewth of  
dede spiritys. but only of god. and his lawe as  
he comaundys hym-self in his lawe.

Who brekys þe fyrste maundement? Prowde  
men. wordly men. and fleschly men. Why  
prowde men. For þey make þe deuyl here god.  
Why wordly men. for þey make worldly godys here  
god. and why fleschly Men for þey make here  
bely here god.

In the Lb version, as in the rhetorical version,  
there is, for the reader, the marker of the question;  
however, the Lb version, like the EdT version, has the



list of breakers stitched on at the end and not woven throughout the treatise, as in the rhetorical versions: this is an important structural difference, and it places the Lb text with the other mixed texts. And it is, as far as is known, the only other text besides Ed and T which has as its structure discursive version plus rhetorical version.

While the Lb version has the same structure as the EdT version, there are minor differences in content in the rhetorical sections, and major differences in the discursive sections. Without going into too great detail it is, perhaps, sufficient to point out the following differences between the Lb and EdT versions:

(i) The rhetorical sections of Lb begin with the question of 'Who brakys þe \_\_\_\_ maundement?' The EdT text begins its rhetorical sections with the assertion 'Also \_\_\_\_ men, \_\_\_\_ men, and \_\_\_\_ men breken þis heest.' In all other respects the three texts -- Lb, Ed and T -- are virtually alike, and among the various rhetorical versions these three texts are unique for their concision, and catechetical-like form. For the rhetorical sections the three texts probably drew from the same common source, with the text of Lb retaining a feature -- the introductory question -- usually associated with the more expansive and didactic rhetorical versions.

(ii) In the discursive section, however, the Lb text appears to have had access to a source distinct from that of Ed and T, and indeed distinct from the other texts

previously considered. Lb preserves vestiges of another text, and one not too distant from Type I: these are most clearly seen in the fourth commandment where Lb elaborates on the comment 'Holy wryt spekys of þre fadyrs';<sup>27</sup> a similar elaboration is to be found in Type I (8) and it is introduced (and partially summed up as well) by a similar comment 'But heere ȝe schullen vnderstonde þ<sup>t</sup> þer been þree maners of fader and mooder'.<sup>28</sup> Both texts then go on to develop, in their own distinctive ways, the three sources of 'fader and mooder': 'bodili fader and mooder'; 'þe secounde maner of fader and mooder ... is crist and his blessedde moode[r]. vr ladi seinte Marie'; 'And also god is oure cheef fader. and al holy chirche þ<sup>t</sup> is þe noumbre of alle gode angels'.<sup>29</sup> The texts of Ed and T do not deal explicitly with 'þre fadyrs' or 'þree maners of fader and mooder', nor do the closely related texts of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub>. A comparison of each commandment of the Lb text with the corresponding commandment in a Type I or II text suggests that the dependence of the Lb text upon one type or another is tenuous. This is also true of a similar comparison with the texts of Ed and T, and the C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> texts: the version of Lb, like B<sub>1</sub>, is unique, both in the sources it has tapped, and in the comment appended to them.

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<sup>27</sup> Lay Folks' Catechism, 43.

<sup>28</sup> Vices and Virtues, Appendix I, 325.

<sup>29</sup> Vices and Virtues, Appendix I, 325.

The possible textual relationship of  $C_3$  and  $A_1$  to Types I and II has been considered in the section on discursive versions and as stated there any consideration of the texts of  $C_3$  and  $A_1$  is, implicitly, a consideration of the texts of Ed and T so close are the two types.

In general, it has been suggested that  $C_3$  and  $A_1$  show signs of having drawn on both Type I and II texts, but that definite textual connexions could not be established. This is true of the Ed and T texts as well. In Appendix III there are set out extracts of the second commandment from the Ed,  $C_3$ , S (Type I), and  $E_1$  (Type II) texts; the comparison there indicates that for the second commandment the EdT, and  $C_3A_1$  texts are closer to a Type II than to a Type I version, but, again, the evidence for a definite textual connexion is lacking. Perhaps more revealing in the comparison is the closeness of the  $C_3$  text to that of Ed. A closer study of the texts of  $C_3A_1$  and their relationship to those of Ed and T might be useful in illuminating a possible method of composition of the EdT version.

With the exception of the first commandment, and setting aside the comparison of the second commandment in Appendix III, the closeness, the textual similarity, of  $C_3$  and  $A_1$  to EdT has only been asserted. The following points cover the range of similarities and dissimilarities among the four texts:

(i) The second, third, fifth and sixth commandments of  $C_3$  and  $A_1$  parallel, in whole or part, the EdT version:

of these parallel texts only the fifth follows the EdT version completely. The other parallel texts either are shorter (being compressed by omission), or they parallel the Ed text for a number of lines, and then diverge. The following commandment (with commentary) is set out to illustrate the degree of similarity of the commandment closest to the Ed text:

C <sub>3</sub> , f. 5v:	Ed, (lines 154 ff.):
þis is þe fyueþ heeste of god. Þe fyueþ heeste. þou schalt slee no man. And þis heeste forbedeþ al vnskilful sleeynge, þe whiche is seide in foure maneres, .as: bodili manslaustter, and bacbitynge & wiþholdynge of worldli goodes or gostely from hem þat nedeþ þese goodes, and yuel ensauple of lyuyng to þe peple. Alle þes braunches ben before god greuouse manslaustters, þe whiche as seynt poule seiþ in þe firste epistel to þe corinthes in þe sext chapitur: haueþ no part in þe kyngdom of heuen.	The fifte commaundment of god is þis. Thou shalt not slee no man wilfully, neiþir with euel wil in hert. Ffor þis is one of þe .iiij. synnes þat euer cryeth vengeance byfore all myghty god. And now þis syn is seid of .iiij. maners, as bodely mannes slaughter, bakbytyng, with holding of worldely goodis or gostely fro hem þat nedith þies goodis, and euel ensauple of lyuyng of þe peple. All þies braunchyes bene before god grenuous manslaughtris, þe whiche, as seyth seynt poule, haiþ no parte in þe kyngdom of heuen. And þus enuyous men ... [Rhetorical Version text follows].

For this particular commandment, as well as for those which partially parallel the Ed text, it is clear that both texts depend, ultimately, upon the same common source. However, this dependence is not complete, as the following establishes.

(ii) The first, fourth, seventh, eighth, and the ninth and tenth,<sup>30</sup> commandments do not parallel the Ed text. It seems that for these commandments the scribe (or in this context the author) of the common source of A<sub>1</sub> chose to interpolate, or rather to adapt the text to his own particular, and caustic, ends. The eighth commandment is an exemplary adaptation:

C<sub>3</sub>, ff. 6<sup>v</sup>- 7<sup>r</sup>:

Þe eisteþ heest of god almighti. Þe eistip heeste is þis. Þou schalt bere no fals wittenesse. And heere al manere of lesynges ben forbode, for eche lesynge is a synne and fals wittenesse asenes god, þat is þe treuthe. And þe mooste lesynge and falseste wittenesse of alle ben tokenes of holynesse wiþ oute to blynde þe worlde, whan vices ben wiþinne, as knottes of freres girdles and her cowped schoun, and not hondelynge monei, ben sygnes of [f. 7<sup>r</sup>] passynge penaunce, and al affeccion to god,

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<sup>30</sup> The ninth and tenth commandments of C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> are highly condensed, and thus bear little resemblance to the relatively full text of Ed. The tenth commandment parallels the Ed text for the final six lines.

and hertliche forsakyng, and despisyng worldli monel.  
 And so of alle oþer signes ȝif þei ben not in dede, as  
 þe figure tolknȝ where is a foulere ypocrisie and  
 lesyng mongere, and fals wittnesse herere þan suche  
 one is. Ffor seynt Ion seip in þe first epistel þe  
 firste chapit<sup>ur</sup>, þat suche one haþ name of life, bot  
 bifore god he is deed.

[For the EdT version see lines 227 ff.]

The above interpolation, and the previously noted dissimilarities, point toward a common source for C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> distinct from that of the Ed and T texts. Yet behind this common source there lies a text which in its discursive sections resembles the probable common source of the texts of Ed and T. This surmise is based upon the following observations:

(i) C<sub>3</sub> and A<sub>1</sub> form a tight textual group, but one not without internal inconsistencies which point back toward a longer and more fully documented text: A<sub>1</sub> has several variant readings which seem to indicate that the scribe of A<sub>1</sub> worked from a slightly longer text. C<sub>3</sub> has inter-textual and marginal biblical and patristic citations, and these probably were not added while the text was being copied.

(ii) This hypothetical text may or may not have had the interpolations of C<sub>3</sub> or A<sub>1</sub>: the interpolations may have been filtered out by the common source of the Ed and T texts. But one fact is fairly certain: since the second, third, fifth and sixth commandments survive in

more or less the same form in all four texts, there existed, at some stage, a text which provided two different textual groups with that text.

(iii) C<sub>3</sub>, A<sub>1</sub>, and T have the same Prologue, with Ed having the conclusion to this Prologue. Again, the presence of such a text in two separate versions strongly suggests that all four of these depend upon a common source for their text of the Prologue.

If, as has been suggested, the four texts depend upon a common source for much of the discursive sections, then how is the structural variation among them to be accounted for? That is, why are the four texts which are alike in so many ways (and explicably different in other ways) so very different in structure? The difference can be accounted for if the composition, as opposed to the transmission, of the texts is carefully considered. The scribe of the common source (not necessarily the immediate source) of Ed and T probably used, and perhaps condensed, a rhetorical version text. This explanation is plausible given the fact that the Ed manuscript contains texts of both the mixed and the rhetorical versions: we know from this that it was not unknown for the two versions to co-exist in a single manuscript. It would have been a simple matter for the scribe or redactor of the common source to abstract the appropriate rhetorical phrases from one of the rhetorical versions and to append these to the discursive text. Such a text would then be not only exegetical but catechetical as well. Something like this

may have been done with Lb: the compositional process for this manuscript, as with the four under consideration, was not one of compression, as proposed by Kellogg and Talbert, but rather one of compilation, or assemblage. The Ed and T texts preserve a version of The Ten Commandments that is an attempt to fuse together two separate versions: the point at which the two were fused together is clear and unmistakable.

### The Textual Relationships of Ed and T.<sup>31</sup>

For the above discussion on the mixed versions the textual identity of the Ed and T version was assumed; that identity properly applies of course only to the now lost common source of the Ed and T texts, and not to these in themselves. Ed and T are very close but their texts are not identical and neither is the copy of the other, as the following shows:

(1) T is, in all probability, not a copy of Ed, for T has Latin headings from the Vulgate for each commandment; Ed does not have these headings, nor references to them. It is unlikely that the scribe of T would stop copying to ferret out appropriate Latin passages to introduce each commandment. There are also numerous unique additions or substitutions in the text of T which point to a source distinct from that of Ed: for example, at line 40, and at the end of the rhetorical section, the scribe of T

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<sup>31</sup> Line references are to the Ed text and variants of The Ten Commandments, (mixed version), ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>.



or its source adds a lengthy conclusion to the first commandment. This is a significant addition, and it is attributable either to the scribe of T or to his immediate source; there is nothing similar to it in the Ed text. At line 33, T substitutes the phrase 'not in god' for 'fro god' thus rendering obscure the otherwise clear 'withdrewyng somewhat of her bileue & trust fro god [nat in god T]'. Likewise the balanced sentence of the Ed text, 'For þei leyuen vertues and yeuen hem to vices', line 125, appears in T as 'for they loue nat vertues but yeue hem to vyces'. This last is explicable as a kind of scribal rewriting, but as the Ed text is not deficient at this point, the reading is probably the result of the scribe of T or of its immediate source. The strongest evidence against the supposition that the Ed text is the immediate source for the T text is the presence of the previously mentioned Latin heading for each commandment.

(ii) Ed is not a copy of T, for T has numerous omissions (when compared to the Ed text) which are unlikely to have been added by conjecture on the part of the Ed scribe; for example, at lines 65-66, Ed reads 'and make no lesyng' where T is silent; at lines 73-74, Ed supplies what T omitted through homoteleuton 'Why ydill swerers? For oopis be not' ('Why' is preceded by 'nedefull' and 'not' is followed by 'medefull'). There are similar long omissions by T at lines 82-84, and at lines 87-90, and Ed is extremely unlikely to have supplied the

text it does through conjecture, (see text and variants).  
The omissions in T exclude T from consideration  
as the immediate source for Ed.

Considering the evidence from (i) and (ii) above  
and with the specific character of the Ed and T texts  
already established in the sections on the discursive  
and mixed versions, it is possible to say with some  
certainty that Ed and T preserve one and the same  
version, elsewhere unattested, neither manuscript being  
the source of the other, but each depending upon the same  
common source at an unknown number of removes.

Arrangements of text and variants  
of The Ten Commandments

The Ed manuscript contains two versions of The Ten Commandments and both versions have been edited, and critical apparatus provided, as part of this thesis. As both Ed versions are defective in varying degrees, it is best that the defects be set right but without destroying the overall integrity of the Edinburgh text. To such an end the following arrangements of texts and variants have been made:

Rhetorical Version

(i) The rhetorical version text in the Edinburgh manuscript has, at some stage, been mis-bound: the proper order of folios should be 2<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>; (see Catherine Borland, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library, 149).

(ii) The Edinburgh rhetorical version is also defective at the beginning and end, wanting approximately two folios. In the introduction it was stated that this treatise is 'defective at the beginning (wanting approximately one folio)' and that it lacks the ninth and tenth commandments. It is possible that the Ed scribe copied from a manuscript which lacked one folio and was also defective at the end. However, the following facts should be considered:

(1) that the rhetorical version treatise should precede the medieval table of contents is inferred from the ending of this treatise which appears on the same folio as the following incipit: 'Here bigynneth a table þat tellith how many maters ben in þis boke.' The arrangement of the treatise as it is in the codex is: ending of treatise plus table of contents plus beginning of treatise (the bottom of which is trimmed). Thus I have inferred that the rhetorical version treatise was originally copied onto the first two - three leaves, one of which was destroyed at some stage with part of another being trimmed.

(2) The treatise as it is in Ed does not have a formal incipit, and it is the only text in Ed which does not have an introduction, or any indication -- rubricated capital, etc. -- that it is a separate text.

(3) The Ed text does not have the first three commandments, nor the last two, but as the text, as it appears in Ed, may be seen to be a whole without them, this seeming discrepancy is not in itself good evidence either for the use of an abbreviated exemplar or for the putative damaged state of the manuscript. The text of the missing folios is supplied from the closely related text of Tn<sub>1</sub>, ff. 141<sup>r</sup>-142<sup>r</sup>; 145<sup>rv</sup>, with the text preceding and following the normal order of the commandments as they appear in Ed. Lineation of this separate text is that of the Tn<sub>1</sub> manuscript.

### Mixed Version

(i) Ed's mixed version (ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>) follows the rhetorical version in the manuscript and does so in this thesis; however, the mixed version is also defective at the beginning, having only a fragment of the Prologue to The Ten Commandments; variants for this fragment are set out below the text.

(ii) For the sake of completeness the entire Prologue from T, ff. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup> is provided as a separate variant. As the T text is in double columns, the lineation of this variant is editorial, a departure from the usual practice in this thesis of observing manuscript lineation.

[Lines A1 - A56 and A193 - A232 are supplied  
by Tanner MS. 336]

- Here is declarid breueli who [f. 141<sup>r</sup>]
- breken þe ten comaundementis  
of god. Proude men worldli men  
& fleschli men breken þe first co-
- A5 maundement. Whi proude men?  
For þei maken þe deuil here god,  
as ioob seiþ xli. c<sup>o</sup>.: 'þe' \* deuil is kyng \*MS. þe in  
upon alle þe sonis of pride. Whi margin,  
worldli men? For þei maken and place  
marked  
with  
caret.
- A10 worldli godis here god, as poul  
seiþ 'to þe eficies' \* v. c<sup>o</sup>.: An auerous man is  
seruaunt of mawmetis, and \*MS. to þe  
schal not haue heritage in þe kyng-<sup>1</sup> eficies  
dom of heuene. Whi fleschli men? in margin,  
and place  
marked  
with  
caret.
- A15 For þei maken her wombe here god,  
as seint poul seiþ to þe philipen-<sup>1</sup>[f. 141<sup>v</sup>]  
sis. .iiij. c<sup>o</sup>.: Be ȝe my folowers &  
wayte ȝe hem þat walken so,  
for many walken þat ben ene-
- A20 mies to cristis cros, whos ende  
is deef, and þe wombe here god  
& ioie in here confusioun. Who  
breken þe secunde comaunde-  
ment? Veyne spekers, grete
- A25 swerers, and wickid worchers.  
Whi veyn spekers? For here wor-

- dis ben not medeful, as crist seiþ  
 in þe gospel. Matthew .xij. c<sup>o</sup>.: Of euery  
 idil word þat men speken, þei\* \*MS. s  
expunged.
- A30 schulen selde rekenyng þer of  
 at þe day of dome. Whi greet  
 swerers? For here opis ben not ne-  
 deful, as þe wise man seiþ. ecclesiasticus  
 .xxiii.: A man mich swerynges
- A35 schal be fulfillid with wickidnes-  
 se & vengeance schal not go  
 fro his hous wiþ worst seldyng.  
 Whi wickid worchers? For here  
 werkis ben vnleful, as seint [f. 142<sup>r</sup>]
- A40 poul seiþ to þe romayns .xvj. c<sup>o</sup>.:  
 Awaite ȝe hem þat letten þe lawe  
 of god, and dele ȝe not wiþ hem  
 for bi softe speche þei disseyuen  
 þe hertis of ynnocent men. Who
- A45 breken þe þridde comaunde-  
 ment? Men þat þenken not on god  
 hertili, ne praien him not deuou-  
 teli, ne done not þe werkis of [f. 142<sup>r</sup>]  
mercie charitably. Whi men þat
- A50 þenken not on god hertili? For  
 þei ocupien here þoustis in vanite-  
 es, as michee þe prophete seiþ  
 ij. c<sup>o</sup>.: Woo to ȝou þat þenken vn-  
 profitable þoustis, worchynges
- A55 yuel in ȝoure couchis in þe mo-  
 rewe list. Whi [begin collation with Edinburgh text]

- 2    worshyp] worschipen Tr.
- 3    and] but Tr. as ... þe xv c<sup>o</sup>] as it is writen in  
þe gospel of matthew .xv. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 5    worshypeth] worschipen Tr. forsoyth] om. Tr.
- 6    hertis] herte Tr. bene] is Tr.
- 7    doith] done Tr.
- 8    mercy] mercie charitably Tr.
- 9    as ... þe v c<sup>o</sup> (1. 10)] as it is writen in iones  
epistil .iii. c<sup>o</sup>. Tr.
- 11    loued] louden Tr.
- 12    wer] weren Tr. And so] Who breken þe fourþ  
commaundement Tr. Marginalium: 4 Tr.
- 14    breken þis heste] om.Tr.
- 15    for helpyn] for þei helpen Tr.
- 16    shuld doen] schulden Tr. as ... seith (1. 17)] as  
it is writen in þe boke of ecclesiasticus .iiij. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 19    sterith] terrip Tr.
- 22    as Isaie seith] as ysaie þe prophete seip xxx. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 24    seith] seien Tr. ye] om. Tr.
- 25    þei] it Tr.
- 26    errour] errours Tr.
- 28    as ... for (1. 29)] as it is writen in þe boke of  
numbers xvi. c<sup>o</sup> Dathon & abiron for Tr.



men þat prayen hym not deuoutely?

[f. 2<sup>r</sup>]

For þei worshyp hym with her lippes  
and not with her hertys, as crist  
seith by matheu þe xv c<sup>o</sup>: þis peple

5 with lippes worshypeth me, but for  
soyth her hertis bene fer frome me.

Why men þat doith not þe werkes  
of mercy? For þei leuen verteus & ye-  
uen hem to vices, as Iohun seith þe

10 v c<sup>o</sup>: light cam in to þe world and  
men loued more derknes þan light,  
for her werkes wer euil. And so  
vnkynde men, froward men & rebel  
men breken þis heste. Why vnkynde

15 men? For helpyn not her eldres  
as þei shuld doen, as þe wiseman  
seith: he þat worshypeth fadre and  
moder shalbe maide merye in sones,  
and he is cursed of god þat sterith  
20 hem to wrath. Why froward men?

For þei wolen not take gostely te-  
chyng, as Isaie seith: sones of  
frowardnes not willyng to here þe  
lawe of god þat seith: speke ye to

[f. 2<sup>v</sup>]

25 vs plesand thynges, þough þei be  
errour. Why rebelle men? For þei  
bene vn**bu**xum to criste & to hys chy-  
rche, as wer Daton & abiron þat

- 30 synked] sonken Tr.
- 32 And ... heste (1. 33)] þ fifþe c maundement is þis:  
Th i schalt sle noman, neiþer wiþ þine hoondis, ne  
in þi wille. And þis breken enuyouse men, wrapful  
men & auerous men Tr. þ riginalium: 5 Tr.
- 34 haiten] þei haten Tr.
- 35 of ... pistel (1. 36)] as seint Ion seiþ in his þrid  
epistle .iiij. c<sup>o</sup>. Tr. [ .iiij. c<sup>o</sup>: perhaps expunged  
as it has two faint lin s drawn through it].
- 38 he] þat he Tr.
- 39 broþer] broþir Tr; \_\_. brok.
- 45 to ... man] as it is writen eccliasticus .xviij.  
c<sup>o</sup>. Tr. \_\_. xp ged þe b f re an.
- 47 of þe] þe Tr.
- 48 riche se] richessis Tr. morow ... þe (1. 49)] Tr.  
expunges mo, and write morewtide til to euentide.
- 49 shall chaunge] schal be chaungid Tr. and ... heste  
(1. 51)] þe sixte comaundement f god is þou schalt  
do no lecheria. And þis breken fornicatours  
auouters, a d holours Tr. þ riginalium: 6 Tr.
- 51 forni aries] fornicato rs Tr.
- 52 MS. e pung i and t p io p o l.
- 53 as ... seith] as it is wri n in thobie .iiij. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 54 men] men for oo womman Tr.
- 55 toke] token Tr. wife] om. Tr.
- 58 to ... wiseman (1. 59)] as it is writen in sapience  
iiij. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.

for vn**bu**xu**u**mes to moyses & Aaron  
 30 synked down to hell all qwyk, wyfe  
 & chylde w**it**h all þat longed to hem.  
 And þies enuyous men, wrathfull  
 men & auarous m**en** breken þis heste.  
 Why enuyous men? For haiten or  
 35 bakbyten her bredren, of whyche spe-  
 keth Iohun in his pistel: Eche man þat  
 hateth his broþ**er** is a man sleer & he  
 þat seith he loueth god & hateth his  
 [broþ**er**] is a lyer. Why wrathful men?  
 40 For þei smyten or dispisen her bredren,  
 as seynt austeyn seith: A wrathful  
 man is hateful to god & he is fellow  
 to fendys. Why auerous m**en**? For þei  
 releuen not in nede her euen cristen,  
 45 to þe whiche seith þe wise man: [f. 3<sup>r</sup>]  
 Haue mynde of pou**er**te in tyme of ple-  
 nty & of þe nede of pouerte in þe  
 day of richesse, fro morow to euen  
 þe tyme shall chaunge. And þus for-  
 50 nicaryes, auoutryers and holours  
 breken his heste. Why fornicaries?  
 For þei defoulen her bodyes in le-  
 chyrie, as tobye seith: þe deuel as-  
 modeus slowe seuen men, for þei  
 55 toke not her wife after þe forme of  
 clene wedloke. Why auoutryers?  
 For þe breken þe holy sacrament of  
 matrimonie, to þe whiche seith þe

- 59 children] The children Tr.
- 62 shalbe] schulen be Tr. accounted] accountid & in þore  
last eend þei schulen faile speche Tr.
- 64 to ... þus] as seint poul seiþ to þe ephesies .v. c<sup>o</sup>  
Tr.
- 65 none] no Tr.
- 67 But ... heste (1. 68)] The seuenþ comaundement of god  
is þis, þou schalt do [left minim of n written and  
subpuncted] no þefte. And þis breken michers, robbers,  
& extorcioners Tr. Marginalium: 7 Tr.
- 69 as ... Osee (1. 70)] as þe prophete osee seiþ .iiij.  
c<sup>o</sup>. Tr. þe] þei Tr.
- 73 þies thynges] þis þing Tr. all ... mourne (1. 74)]  
þe erþe schal mourne alle þat dwellen þerynne Tr.
- 75 robben] þei robben Tr. to ... profite] as ysaie  
seiþ xxxiiij .c<sup>o</sup>. Tr.
- 77 wher] wheþir Tr. robbeth] robbist Tr. life] self Tr.
- 78 fully] om. Tr.
- 79 shalt þou] þou schalt Tr.
- 81 as ... seith (1. 82)] as it is writen in sapience  
.ij. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 82 vnþitous] The vnþiteuous Tr.
- 83 he is vnprofitable] vnprofitable he is Tr.
- 86 so proue we] proue we so Tr.
- 87 And ... heste (1. 89)] The viij comaundement of god  
is þis, þou schalt here no fals witnesse asens þi  
neisbore. And þis breken livers, glosers, and fals  
questmongers Tr. Marginalium: 8 Tr.

wiseman: children of auoutrye

60 her seede shall be outlawed, and  
if þei bene of long life, at noght  
þei shalbe accounted. Whi holouris?  
For þei waisten her bodyes vnkyndly,  
to þe whiche poule seith þus: wit

65 ye wele þat iolouris hathe none  
heritage in þe kyngdome of heuen.

But þus mychers, robbers & extor-  
sioners breken his heste. Why my-  
chers? For þe stelen preuely, as seith

[f. 3<sup>v</sup>]

70 þe profet Osee: troweth is not in  
erth, but cursidnes & thefte, & mercy  
is a wey & science of þe lorde, for  
þies thynges all þat dwelleth þer-  
in shuld mourne. Why robbers? For

75 robben opynly, to þe whiche seith  
god by Isaie þe profite: woo to þe  
þat robbeth wher þi life shal not  
be robbed, whan þou haste fully rob-  
bed þan shalt þou be robbed. Why

80 extorsioners? For þei spuleyn men  
of her godes falsly, as þe wise man  
seith: vnpytous man seith: Begyle  
we 'þe' right wisman, for he is vnpro-  
fitable to vs and contrarie to our

85 werkes, by moste foule deth conde-  
mpne we hym & so proue we þe  
pacience of hym. And þus lyers

- 90 of ... man (1. 91)] as it is writen ecclesiasticus  
 .xx. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 92 lyers] a liser Tr. heritage] enherite Tr.
- 93 hell] perdicoun Tr. hyden] þei hiden Tr. trewht]  
 þe truþe Tr.
- 94 as ... profite] as ysaie seiþ .xxxiiij. c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 95 high] so his Tr. we] þou Tr.
- 96 sleghtnes] slisnesse Tr.
- 98 questioners] qwestmongers Tr. trewth] þe truþe Tr.  
 as ... seith (1. 99)] as it is writen in ysaie .lix.  
 c<sup>o</sup> Tr.
- 99 Dome ... bakward] Turnid is backward dome Tr.
- 100 trewth] Tr expunges t before truþe.
- 101 goo] gon Tr.
- 102 from] fro Tr.

glosers and fals questioners breken  
 his heste. Whi lyers? For þei haten [f. 1<sup>r</sup>]  
 90 trewth, of whiche speketh þe wise-  
 man: better is a thefe þan þe bisenesse  
 of lyers, for boith shullen heritage  
 hell. Why glosers? For hyden trewht,  
 as seith Isaie þe profite: þis peple is  
 95 of high sermone, so þat we may not  
 vndirstonde þe sleghtnes of her tong  
in whiche is no wisdom. Why fals  
 questioners? For þe sellen trewth, as  
 Isaie seith: Dome is torned bakward,  
 100 for trewth is fallen in þe strete and  
 equite mai not goo in & he þat  
 seseth from syn is able to be dispi-  
 103 sed.

The Tanner MS. 336 text of  
 the Rhetorical Version of 'The Ten Commandments'  
 [commandments 9 and 10]

A193 [End collation with Ed.] þe ix & tenþe [f. 145<sup>r</sup>]  
 comaundementis ben þese.  
 A195 Thou schalt not coueite þi neiȝ-  
 boris hous. And þis brekep he  
 þat wrongfulli coueitip in his  
 herte, þous he do it not in dede,  
 as it is seide in þe boke of ecclesiasticus  
 A200 v. c<sup>o</sup>.: Wille þou not coueite wic-  
 kidli possessiouns, ne folowe

pou in þi strenkþe þe co-

MS. expunged not.

uetyngis of þin herte; it schal

not profite þee in tyme of ven-

A205 geaunce. Thou schalt not

coueite þi neisboris wijf & þus

breken þoo men þat coueiten

in herte, & to here power done it

in deed, as crist seiþ in Matthew .v. c<sup>o</sup>:

A210 Euery man þat seeþ awomman

forto coueite hir hap now

done lecherie with hir in his herte.

Ne þou schalt coueite þe ser-

uuntis of þi neisbore, ne ge-

MS. expunged r  
between g and e.

A215 ue alle, ne no þing þat is his.

And þis breken þoo men þat

[f. 145<sup>v</sup>]

haue lust and likyng in such

wrongful couetyng, as it is

writen in sapience .iiij. c<sup>o</sup>.: vn-

A220 stablenesse of couetyng ouir-

turneþ witt wiþouten malice.

Also seint ion seiþ in his first

epistle .ij. c<sup>o</sup>.: Thoo þingis þat

ben of þe world ben couetise of

A225 ise & couetise of flesch & pride

of lijf, and þese þre synnes

enwappen alle oþre þat ony

man doiþ. Heere eendiþ

þe x comaundementis sch-



A230 ortli declarid. Almiyti Ihesu\*

\*MS. expunged g.

graunte us grace to kepe hem.

A232 A M E N

## Notes (Rhetorical Version)

The following notes are confined primarily to commenting on specific differences between the Tn<sub>1</sub> text or the EdTn<sub>1</sub> version, and the texts of J and M. The editors of these latter two texts, Kellogg and Talbert, and Bühler (see introduction for full references) have pointed out various other connexions between their texts, and the sources upon which they depend, but they were not aware of the existence of the Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> texts (among others). So, much of what is said in the following notes not only presupposes, but adds to, and, where necessary, corrects the work of these earlier commentators.

A1 who breken. See also lines A22-A23, A44-A46, 12-14, 32-33, 49-51, 67-68, 87-89, A194-A215. The Tn<sub>1</sub> and Ed texts (unlike the texts of J, M, and Tc) do not have the full statement of commandment from the biblical text of the WBL, Exodus xx, 1-17. Tn<sub>1</sub>, however, from the fifth commandment onwards, has a statement of commandment which resembles the statements in the WBL: for example, the ninth and tenth commandments in Tn<sub>1</sub> 'ben þese: Thou schalt not coueite þi neisþoris hous.[commentary]. Thou schalt not coueite þi neisþoris wijf ... [commentary]. Ne þou schalt coueite þe seruauntis of þi neisþore, ne geue all, ne no þing þat is his.' [commentary], lines A194-A215. The J text agrees with the WBL, Exodus xx, 17, and its ninth and tenth commandments 'ben þese / Thou shalt not coueite þe hous of þi neisþore neþer þou shalt desire his wyf. not seruaunt. not hand maide. not oxe not asse: neþer alle þingis þat ben hise.' Kellogg and Talbert, 376. The M text follows, with minor variations, the J biblical text, but, like Tn<sub>1</sub>, has the full biblical statement of commandment broken up into its separate injunctions and comments on each one in turn, citing a biblical authority in support of the comment. These similarities notwithstanding, the commentary of the Tn<sub>1</sub> text is closer to that of the J text than to the M text: both the Tn<sub>1</sub> and M texts appear to be slightly condensed recensions of a text which in its biblical text and commentary probably resembled the J text, or one very close to the J text, but one with inter-textual biblical and patristic citations.

A5 Whi ... men. [and passim]. As noted by Bühler, 689, fn. 12, and Kellogg and Talbert, 372, fn. 3, T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, eds., The Lay Folks' Catechism, E.E.T.S. O.S. cxviii, p. 115, draw attention to the repetition of the question 'Who brekys' (see line A22 below), and point to its survival in Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism of 1552. The Lay

Folks' Catechism, as noted by Bühler, 'merely lists the "breakers" without giving the Biblical texts that support or enlarge upon these selections'. M (Bühler's text) and J (Kellogg and Talbert's text) give the biblical texts, and cite the precise sources, as do the Ed and Tn<sub>1</sub> texts. The list of 'breakers' in The Lay Folks' Catechism [Lb] may well be a condensation of the more expansive EdTn<sub>1</sub> version, (or the JM version), but Lb is otherwise unrelated to these texts.

- A11 An ... heuene (line A14). J reads: 'an auarous man is a seruaunt of mawmetis: and shal not enherite þe kyngdom of heuene', Kellogg and Talbert, 372. WBE (with variants) reads: 'ech fornycatour [lechour MSS. GMPQT], or vnclene man, or coueytous [auerouse man MSS. QT] that is seruage [seruinge MSS. OQ] of ydols, or mawmetis, hath not heritage in the kingdom of Crist and [and of MSS. QT] God.' Ephesians v,5.
- A17 Be ... confusioun (line A22). The Tn<sub>1</sub> text agrees with the J text through line A21, but adds 'A ioie in here confusioun', a clause which echoes WBL, Philippians iii, 19: 'whos god is the wombe, and the glorie in confusioun of hem, that sauereu ertheli thingis.'
- A22 (1) See note to line A1.
- (2) medeful. The J text, as it stands in print, reads 'needful'; the manuscript reads 'meedful'.
- A36 vengeance ... seldyng (line A37). J reads 'veniaunce with worst silding: shal not go fro his hous /'The texts of Tn<sub>1</sub>, J, M, (as well as Tc) preserve an abridged version of the WBEL, Ecclesiasticus xxiii, 12: 'A man myche swerende shal be fulfild with wickidnesse [WBE]; and veniaunce schal not go awei fro his hous. And if he disseyueth a brother, his trespas schal be aboue hym; and if he feyneth, he schal trespasse doubli. And if he swerith in veyn, he schal not be iustified; for whi his hous schal be fillid with worst selding [WBL].'
- A41 Awaite ... men (line A44). Again, the Tn<sub>1</sub> text, as well as J, M, and Tc, follows an abridged version of the WBEL, Romans xvi, 18.
- A44 See note to line A1.
- A53 Woo ... list (line A56). Text agrees with J.
- 4 þis ... me (line 6). Text agrees with J.
- 10 light ... euel (line 12). Text agrees, with minor variation, with J: Ed, Tn<sub>1</sub> and M read 'derknesse' for J's 'derknessis'.

- 12 See note to line A1.
- 17 he ... wrath (line 20). Text agrees, with one exception, with J. Ed and C<sub>5</sub>, f. 6<sup>r</sup>, read 'sterith' for 'terriþ'. The WBE (as well as Tn<sub>1</sub>, J, M and Tc) uses 'terreth': 'and he is cursid of God, that terreth to wrathe the moder' (Ecclesiasticus iii, 18). In the WBL the clause is rendered thus: 'and he that wraththith the modir is cursid of God.' The use of 'sterith' in Ed and C<sub>5</sub> may be an independent scribal attempt at a simplification of 'terreth', or it may represent the usage of an available but no longer extant recension of the Wycliffite Bible (itself an attempt at a simplification of 'terreth' which is tentatively resolved in the WBL usage 'wraththith').
- 22 sones ... errour (line 26). Tn<sub>1</sub> agrees with Rylands. Ed's substitution of 'þei' for 'it' agrees with M, and 'errour' for 'erreurs' appears to be unique.
- 28 þat ... hem (line 31). Text agrees with J.
- 32 See note to line A1.
- 36 Eche ... lyer (line 39). Text agrees, with minor variation, with J: MS. Ed (line 39) reads 'brok is a lyer'; Tn<sub>1</sub> reads 'broþir is a lier', and Rylands has 'broþir he is a lier'. The scribe of Ed probably misread þ with suspended abbreviation for -er as a k. The text has been emended on this assumption.
- 41 A ... fendys (line 43). Text agrees with J.
- 46 Hauē ... chaunge (line 49). Text, in general, agrees with J. Ed (lines 48-49) reads 'morow to euen þe tyme shall chaunge'; J has 'fro erli vnto euen þe tyme shal chaunge', and Tn<sub>1</sub> reads 'fro morewtide til to euentide tyme schal be chaungid'; Tn<sub>1</sub>'s reading agrees with the WBL, Ecclesiasticus xviii, 26. The J translation, as noted by Kellogg and Talbert, 374, fn. 6, 'is nearer to EV [Earlier Version] than LV [Later Version].'
- 49 See note to line A1.
- 53 þe ... wedloke (line 56). Text agrees with J. Tn<sub>1</sub>, M, and C<sub>5</sub>, f. 7<sup>r</sup>, add, at line 54 and after 'men', 'for oo womman'. This is a reference to Sara, daughter of Raguel, who 'was youun to seuene hosebondis, and a feend, Asmodeus bi name, killide hem, anon as thei hadden entrid to hir.' WBL, Tobias iii, 8. The text of lines 53-56 does not parallel the WBEL, nor is it a condensation of the WBEL texts. As in most of the biblical texts of the rhetorical versions of The Ten Commandments the immediate source of the biblical

text is difficult to isolate: for some texts the scribe of the common source seems to have had access to and used one of the versions of the Wycliffite Bible, and for other texts, for example lines 53-56, the scribe responded to a version of the Wycliffite Bible. The three related, yet distinct, texts of Tn<sub>1</sub>, M, and C<sub>5</sub> preserve a unique response in the clarifying addition (an addition vis-a-vis other texts) of 'for oo womman'. Such an addition suggests that these three manuscripts drew upon, ultimately, the same source for this biblical passage.

- 59 children ... accounted (line 62). Ed and Tc agree with Rylands through 'accounted', line 62. J, Tn<sub>1</sub>, and C<sub>5</sub> read 'accountid and in þer last eende. þei shule faille speche', Kellogg and Talbert, 375. In J, as noted by Kellogg and Talbert, 375, fn. 1, 'and ... speche' is a marginal insertion. The insertion appears to be in the same textura hand as that of the main text, but there is very little other marginal material, so an extensive palaeographical analysis is not possible. It is to be assumed then that the scribe of J corrected his own mistake, and that his exemplar had 'and ... speche'. Thus, Tc (a possible source for J) is probably not a source for J, though it is still possible that J and Tc depend upon the same immediate source.
- 64 wit ... heuen (line 66). With the exception of the beginning, Ed agrees with J, which reads: 'þis þing wite 3e wel'.
- 67 See note to line A1.
- 70 troweth ... mourne (line 74). Ed agrees, with minor variation, with J: Ed, line 73, reads 'þies thynges' while J, Tn<sub>1</sub>, M, C<sub>5</sub>, and Tc read 'þis þing'. Tn<sub>1</sub>, lines 73-74 substitutes 'þe erþe schal mourne alle þat dwellen þerynne' for 'all ... mourne'. Tn<sub>1</sub>'s substitution should be compared with WBL, Hosea iv, 3: 'For this thing the erthe schal mourne, and ech that dwellith in that lond, schal be sijk ...'.
- 76 Tn<sub>1</sub> here agrees with J through line 79. Ed, line 77, reads 'life' where Tn<sub>1</sub>, J, C<sub>5</sub>, and Tc read 'self'.
- 82 vnpitous ... hym (line 87). Ed agrees, with one exception, with J. Ed, line 82, has 'vnpitous'; J reads 'þe vnpitous'. Tn<sub>1</sub> and M agree in variation at line 82, 'vnprofitable he is', and at line 86, 'proue we so'. The reading 'vnprofitable he is' may be attributable to the WBE, Wisdom 11, 12: 'Bigile wee thanne the ristwis man, for vnprofitable he is to vs, and contrarie to oure werkis', but 'proue we so', having no parallel in the WBEL, may well be scribal, and might have been in the common

source of Tn<sub>1</sub> and M. It is also possible (as it is simple matter of word-order inversion) that the variant in each text was independently introduced.

87 See note to line A1.

91 better ... hell (line 93). Ed's text seems to be a simplified version of the WBE, Ecclesiasticus xx, 27: 'Betere is a thef than the besynesse of a man liere; forsothe bothe shuln eritagen perdicoun.' The texts of Tn<sub>1</sub> and J are closer than Ed to the above WBE text. M and C<sub>5</sub>, f. 8<sup>rv</sup>, substitute the following text for lines 91-97: 'Poul seip in þe Deedis of Apostalis .xxj. c<sup>o</sup>. I woot þat after me rauischynge wolues schullen come techinge lesynges desseyuable to make oþer to folowe hem. Why glosers. for þey hiden þe treupe. as Poul seith to Tymothe .iiij. c<sup>o</sup>. tyme schal come. whanne men schullen not susteyne holsum techynge. and þei schullen turne away þe heringe fro treupe.' Bühler, 691. M and C<sub>5</sub> share the same source, and one distinct (at least for the eighth commandment) from Ed, Tn<sub>1</sub>, J, and To.

94 þis ... wisdom (line 97). Ed agrees with J.

99 Dome ... dispised (line 103). Ed agrees with J; Tn<sub>1</sub>, at line 99, reads: 'Turnid is bacward dome', a reading also found in M, C<sub>5</sub>, and the WBE, Isaiah lix, 14.

A194 See note to line A1.

A200 Wille ... vengeance (line A205). Tn<sub>1</sub>, with one exception, agrees with J: at line A202, Tn<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>5</sub> read 'couetyngis' where J, To, and the WBE read 'coueting'. The WBE, Ecclesiasticus v, 1-2 has 'Wile thou not taken heed to wickide possessiouns, and ne seye thou, Ther is to me suffisaunt lif; no thing forsothe it shal profiten in the tyme of veniaunce, and of oþressing, or deth. Ne folewe thou in thi strengthe the coueiting of thin herte'. The agreement in variation of Tn<sub>1</sub> and M is probably not indicative of a close textual connexion (see note to line 91 above), but, as with other biblical texts, it may point to the use of the same recension of the Wycliffite Bible; that is, if the commentary of the tract The Ten Commandments is of one tradition, but the biblical texts contained within the tract are liable to comparison with any available English translation of the Vulgate, then the scope for scribal tampering becomes considerable.

A210 Tn<sub>1</sub>, through line A212, agrees with J.

- A219 Th<sub>1</sub> (lines A219-A221) with minor variation, agrees with J: at line A221 Th<sub>1</sub> 'omits' (vis-a-vis J) 'þe'. Morgan omits this passage, and the one following.
- A223 Th<sub>1</sub> (lines A223-A226) is closer to the WHL, I John ii, 16: 'For al thing that is in the world, is coueitise of fleisch, and coueitise of iþen, and pride of liþf'. J, Tc, and C<sub>5</sub> read 'þe [þese C<sub>5</sub>] þinges ben of þe world. ccuetise of iþen. and lustis of fleish. and pride of lyf', Kellogg and Talbert, 376.

## Biblical Sources

- A7 Job xli, 25.
- A11 Ephesians v, 5.
- A17 Philippians iii, 17-19.
- A28 Matthew xii, 36.
- A34 Ecclesiasticus xxiii, 12.
- A41 Romans xvi, 18.
- A53 Micah ii, 1.
- 4 Matthew xv, 8.
- 10 John iii, 19.
- 17 Ecclesiasticus iii, 6, 18.
- 22 Isaiah xxx, 9-10.
- 28 Numbers xvi, 27-33.
- 36 1 John iii, 15; iv, 20.
- 41 I have been unable to locate this reference.
- 46 Ecclesiasticus xviii, 25-26.
- 53 Tobias iii, 8.
- 59 Wisdom iii, 16-18.
- 64 Ephesians v, 5.
- 70 Osee iv, 1-3.
- 76 Isaiah xxxiii, 1-2.
- 82 Wisdom ii, 12, 20, 19.
- 91 Ecclesiasticus xx, 27.
- 94 Isaiah xxxiii, 19.
- 99 Isaiah lix, 14.
- A200 Ecclesiasticus v, 1-2.
- A210 Matthew v, 28.



A219 Wisdom iv, 12.

A223 1 John ii, 16.

The Prologue to The Ten Commandments from  
 Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.3.21(T),  
 ff. 2<sup>v</sup><sup>b</sup> - 3<sup>r</sup><sup>a</sup> 1.

A Prologe on the .x. commaundmentes

[f.2<sup>v</sup>]

ALL MANER men shuldyn holde goddys  
 commaundmentes, for w<sup>t</sup> out keryng and  
 rewlyng by hem may noman besauyd, and

P5 so the gospell telleth howe oon askyd cryst  
 what he shuld do forto come to heuyn, and  
 cryst bade hym yef he wold enter in to blysse  
 that he shuld kepe the commaundmentes of god.  
 Almyghty god seythe in hys lawe on thys wyse:

P10 whoso seythe that he loueth me, and kepeth nat  
 my commaundmentes, he ys a lyer, and trewthe  
 ys nat in hym. And as god seythe: The fende ys  
 fadyr of all lesynges. Therefore lest we become  
 the fendes chyl dren thorough lesynges lat vs know

P13 goddes .x. commaundmentes, and kepe hem  
 besyly w<sup>t</sup> all oure myght as trew men to Ihesu  
 cryste. And/wete thou well that oure lord

[f.3<sup>r</sup>]

Ihesu cryst hath nat bodyn vs do but that we  
 may well kepe w<sup>t</sup> the helpe of goddes grace, yef we

P20 do oure besynesse therto, for elles nit had be ayenst  
 reson to haue boundyn men open theyre dampnacion  
 to haue kept hys commaundmentes, and in  
 oure god may non vnreson be by any maner way.

And so god seyth in hys gospell to all maner men:

P 25 My charge ys lyght, and my yok ys swete,

and seynt Iohun the euaungelyst seythe:

The charge of god ys to kepe hys commaundmentes,

and they be nat greuous ne heuy.

P 29                   Explicit Prologus.

<sup>1</sup> For a printed edition of the same Prologue of Rylands English MS. 85 (J), see A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert, 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments ...', B.J.R.L. xlii (1960), 371; for other manuscripts see C.U.L. MS. Nn. 4.12, f. 3<sup>r</sup>; B.M. Add. 27592, f. 42<sup>r</sup> (omits lines P1-P10 of the Trinity text above). The latter two manuscripts are closer to the J text.

## [Fragment of Prologue from Ed]

i by eny maner wey. And crist seith in  
 his gospell to all maner folke: My  
 charge is light & my yoke is swete.  
 And seynt Iohun þe euaungelist se-  
 v yth: þe charge of god is to kepe his  
 hestys & þei be not greuous nor  
 vii heuye.

[f. 4<sup>r</sup>]

## Variants from MS. T.

i And crist] And so god T.  
 ii folke] men T.  
 vi hestys] commaundmentes T.

## Biblical Sources

- P7    Matthew xix, 16-17.  
P10   1 John ii, 4.  
P12   John viii, 44.  
P25   Matthew xi, 30.  
P27   1 John v, 3.

- 1 Here ... kepe (1. 3)] Fili mi custodi sermones meos  
& precepta mea reconde tibi. Ffili honora dominum  
& valebis propter eum. ne timueris alium serua  
mandata mea & viues & legem meam quasi pupillam oculi  
tui custodi; liga eam in digitis tuis; scribe eam  
in tabulis cordis tui. Prouerbia.vij<sup>o</sup>. T.
- 4 all] om. T.
- 5 lorde god] lord thy god T.
- 7 be fore me aliene goddis (1. 8)] straunge goddes  
before me T.
- 8 not] om. T.
- 9 a grauen ymage] no grauen thynges T. with mannys  
hondis (1. 10)] om. T.
- 11 heuen] heuen aboue T.
- 13 MS. expunged le between shalt and not. loute hem,  
ne (1. 14)] om. T.
- 14 lorde god] lord thy god T.
- 16 wikkydnes] wykydnesses T. in] in to T.
- 18 hated] hatyn T.
- 19 thousandis] a thowsand T.
- 20 loue] louen T. myne hestys] my commaundmentes T.
- 21 heest] commaundment T. almyghty] om. T. Marginalium:  
Primum mandatum T.
- 22 affeccions] affeccion T.

Here bygynneth þe ten commaund-  
mentis of god þat eche man must

[f. 4<sup>r</sup>]

of hym kepe.

self spake all þies wordes:

5

I am þi lorde god þat

led þe out of egipte fro þe house of

seruage, þou shalt not haue before

me aliene goddis, þou shal not make

to þe a grauen ymage with mannys

10

hondis, neþer eny liknes whiche is in

heuen, neþer in erth by neiþe, neþer

of þe thynges whiche bene in watres

vndir þe erth, þou shalt not loute

hem, ne worshyp hem. I am þi lorde

15

god, a stronge gelous louer, visityng

þe wikkydnes of fadres in children

in to þe thrid & fourte generacion of

[f. 4<sup>v</sup>]

hem þat hated me, and I do mercy in

to thousandis of kyndredes of hem

20

þat loue me & kepen myne hestys.

Thys is þe first heest of god almy-

ghty, commaundyng all affeccions, all

loue, all worshype, and all þe ioy of

- 24 be doon] to be do T.
- 29 wichecraftes] wycheecraft T.
- 30 conjurisons] and coniuracions T.
- 31 þo] they T. putten] put T. or] eyther T.
- 32 withdrawyng] w<sup>t</sup>drawen T. somewhat] som T.
- 33 MS. expunged for between trust and fro. fro god] nat  
in god T.
- 34 brekyng] brekyn T. heste] commaundment T.
- 35 MS. expunged wo between men and and.
- 36 heest] commaundment T.
- 37 deuel] fende T.
- 38 make] makyn T.
- 40 maken] make T. god] god. And so hit ys concludyd of  
thys commaundment that no creature in heuen ne in erthe  
be worshyppyd, drad, and louyd in oure soule aboue  
oure maker, but all creatures beloued benethe hym aftyr  
worthynes and ordre. But thys mayst thou nat well  
discusse in thysylfe, but aftyr that thou louest the  
lawe of thy god; ffor oonly therby and thereaftyr  
shalt thou haue prefe in thysylfe, whether thou settest  
the creatoure, or the creature before T.
- 41 The secund commaundment] Vir multum iurans replebitur  
iniquitate & a domo eius non recedet plaga.  
Ecclesiasticus. xxiij<sup>o</sup>. The secund commaundment ys  
T. Marginalium: Secundum mandatum T.
- 42 taken] take T.
- 43 veyne] ydell T.



[f. 4<sup>v</sup>]

mannes hert be doon to our lord Ihesu  
 25 crist. Here god commaundith þat all  
 mannes bileue, trust, and loue be set  
 onely in god & in none oþer thyng a-  
 yenst his wil. And here he forfendith  
 all bileue & trust in all manner wichecraf-  
 30 tes, sweuenes, charmes, coniurisons,  
 for þe þat putten her bileue or trust  
 in eny suche, withdrawyng somewhat  
 of her bileue & trust fro god, & so  
 brekyng þis heste. Also proude men,  
 35 worldely men, and fleshly men  
 breken þis heest. Why proude men?  
 For þei maken þe deuyl her god. Why  
 worldely men? For þei make worlde-  
 ly goodys her god. Why fleshly men?  
 40 For þei maken her belies her god.

[f. 5<sup>r</sup>]

T The secund commaundment.  
 Thou shalt not taken þe  
 name of þi lord god in veyne,

for god clepeth hym gylty þat taketh  
 45 his name in veyn. Ieremie þe profet  
 seyth to a iuste oithe longyth .iiij. thy-

- 47 secund] secund ys T. Marginalium: .i.; .ij. T.
- 48 thrid] thryd ys T. Marginalium: .iiij. T.
- 49 .iiij.] thre T.
- 50 fro] from T. þine] thy T.
- 53 &] om. T. membre] membre T.
- 56 seyng] om. T. MS. expunged ye between gospel and  
 she. gospel] gospell, and so T.
- 58 he lerid] they lernyd T. he lewyd] they lewde T.
- 59 techyth] telleth T.
- 60 shuld] shulden T.
- 61 sey] to sey T.
- 62 doubil] doubeleth T.
- 63 If] om. T.
- 64 seith] sey T. MS. expunged ye between seith and she.  
 seip she] sey ye, ye T.
- 65 and ... lesyng (1. 66)] om. T.
- 67 wordis] oothe T.
- 68 eny] om. T.
- 69 or] other T. eny of] om. T.

ngys. The first is trewht, þe secund [f. 5<sup>r</sup>]

good profite, and þe thrid resonable  
doome, and if eny of þies .iiij. thynges

50 failen fro þine oþe, þan þine oþ is  
idel and a greit synn displeyng god.

And so in nede god & þe holy doom

shuld be þine oþ, & by no membre, ne

by noon oþer creature of god shalt þou

55 swere on eny wyse, as crist chargith

vs seyng in hys gospel: she, she,

ay, ay shuld be cristen mennys wor-

dys, wer he lerid, wer he lewyd, as

crist techyth vs all in þe same place.

60 And for þe hert & þe mowth shuld

accorde in speche and not sey one & thy- [f. 5<sup>v</sup>]

like an oþer; þerfore crist doubil þis she &

þis ay, as þough he wold sey: If ye

seith she in your hert, seip she with

65 your mouth & be ye trew men and

make no lesyng. And þus she, she, & ay,

ay shulde be cristen mennys wordis

with out any veyne sweryng by god,

or by eny of his creatures. Also veyn

- 71 heste] commaundment T.
- 72 bene] be T. nedefull ... not (1. 74)] om. T.
- 75 bene] be T.
- 76 The ... þis] Si autem non audieritis me vt sanctificetis diem sabbati & ne portetis onus & ne inferatis per portas ierusalem in diem sabbati, succendam ignem in portis eius & deuorabit domos ierusalem & non extinguetur. Ieremias. xvij<sup>o</sup>. The thryd commaundment ys to. Marginalium: Tercium mandatum T.
- 77 Haue ... halow] haue in mynde that thou halew T.
- 79 and do] om. T.
- 80 þe ... be (1. 81)] In the .viij. day ys T.
- 82 And ... hem (1. 84)] om. T.
- 84 þi sone] neyther thou ne thy son T. and] ne T.  
þi seruaunt] ne thy seruaunt T.
- 85 & þi maide] om. T. þi werk beste] ne thy werke beste T. and] ne T.
- 86 within] in T.
- 87 for ... holy (1. 90)] om. T.
- 92 MS. expunged ma before moste.

70 spekers, ydel swerers & wykked wor- [f. 5<sup>v</sup>]  
 chers breken þis heste. Why veyn spe-  
 kers? For her wordes bene not nede-  
 full. Why ydil swerers? For oobis  
 be not medefull. Why wiked wor-  
 75 chers? For her werkes bene vnlefull.  
 The thrid commaundment of god is þis:

	Aue mynde to halow þine
	holy day. In six days þ <u>ou</u>
	shalt worche and do þine

80 own werkes; þe seueneth day shal  
 be þe reste of þi lord god, þat day  
 shalt þou doo no seruyle work. And  
 fre þies werkes shuld þies sixe kepe  
 hem: þi sone and þi doughter, þi ser-  
 85 uaunt & þi maide, þi werk beste and  
 þi straunger þat dwellith within þine  
 house, for in sixe days god maide  
 heuen and erth see & all thynges þat  
 is with in hem and rested in þe seuen-  
 90 th day & blessid þat day & maid it holy.  
 But synn is þe cruellest werke &  
 moste bende of all oper werkes;

[f. 6<sup>r</sup>]

- 93 MS. corrected charu~~h~~d to chargid.  
 94 for] om. T.  
 95 ceessith] sesen T. frome] fro T. MS. 1 expunged  
between folke and ceessith.  
 96 occupien] occupy T.  
 98 clenseth] clensyn T. swallowen] swolow T.  
 99 all] om. T. holdynge] ffor many holdyn T.  
 101 euer eiþir] bothe T.  
 102 left] last T.  
 104 þe lust] lust T.  
 106 to worshyp] worshyp T.  
 108 to bisie] besy T.  
 109 wrechednes] wrechydnesses T. greit] om. T.  
 110 to comforth] comfort T.  
 112 MS. corrected 'þu kunnyng' to 'þi kunnyng'.  
 113 halow] haue T.  
 114 þat] om T.  
 115 thenken] that thenkyn T. of] on T.  
 117 doon] do T.  
 119 of] on T.

þerfore eche man is char'gi'd to kepe [f. 6<sup>r</sup>]  
 hym from synne for euermore. Ffor many  
 95 folke ceessith on þe holy day from  
 greit bodely traueilles, but þei occu-  
 pien hem in greit gostely synnes, suche  
 folke clenseth þe gnate & swallowen  
 þe camel all hole, holdyng more pe-  
 100 rill in a litel bodely werke þan in greit  
 gostely synnes, all be it þat euer eiþir  
 shulde be left on þe holy day. But  
 on þe holyeday folkes shulden princi-  
 pally forsake þe lust of þe fleshe,  
 105 and þe ioy of þe world, and veyn dis- [f. 6<sup>v</sup>]  
 portys and goo to þe chyrche & to wor-  
 shyp god in his sacramentis deuoutly,  
 and to bisie hem to know her own  
 wrechednes and þe greit kyndnes  
 110 of god, & to viset, and to comforth þi  
 nedye neghbures, bodely and gostely  
 after þi power and þ'i' kunnyng. And  
 þus þou shuldest halow þi self on þe  
 holy day. And þus men þat on þe  
 115 holy day thenken not of god hertely  
 and prayen hym not deuoutly and  
 doon not þe werkes of mercy charita-  
 bly breken þis commandement. Why  
 men þat thenken not of god hertely?

- 120 occupyen] occupy T. in] w<sup>t</sup> T.
- 121 prayen] praye T. hym] om. T.
- 124 doon] do T.
- 125 mercy] mercy charytably T. leyuen] loue nat T.
- 126 and] but T. yeuen] yeue T.
- 127 The ... god] Honora patrem tuum & gemitus matris  
tuo ne obliuiscaris. Memento quoniam nisi per  
illos non fuisses & retribue illis quomodo & illi  
tibi. Ecclesiasticus vij. The .iiij. Commaundment  
ys to T. Marginalium: Quartum mandatum T.
- 128 & pi moder] and modyr T.
- 130 hest] commaundment T.
- 134 of] to T.
- 138 or] eyther T.
- 140 it ] he T.




120 For þei occupyen her thoughtes in  
 vaniteis. Why men þat prayen hym  
 not deuoutely? For þei worshyp hym  
 with her lippes and not with her  
 hertis. Why men þat doon not þe  
 125 werkis of mercy? For þei leyuen ver-  
 tues and yeuen hem to vices.

[f. 6<sup>v</sup>]

The fourth commaundment of god.

[f. 7<sup>r</sup>]

130  orshyp þi fadre & þi moder  
 þat þou be of long lyfe  
 vpon erth. Þis hest wole  
 & kynde also þat þou worshyp þi fader  
 & þi moder & þat þou help hem in reson-  
 nable mesure of wordely godes, if þei  
 haue nede of hem. And also with stren-  
 135 kþis of þi body trauaile for hem, coun-  
 seile & comforte hem after þi kunnynge,  
 & reuerence hem with wordis of mouth,  
 for he þat mysusyth his fader or his  
 moder shall die an euil deeth as god-  
 140 dis lawe seith if it repent hym not.  
 And counseile & teche hem, if þou be  
 wiser þan þei in all meke maner, how

- 143 shulden] shuld T. god all myghty] almyghty god T.
- 145 houndishe] houndys T.
- 146 to] forto T. MS. expunged þ between for and yeit.  
worshyp] worshyp and to ioue T.
- 147 his] om. T.
- 148 rebel men] rebeles T.
- 149 heste] commaundment T.
- 150 helpen] helpe T. eldres] eldyr T. shulden] shuld T.
- 152 taken] take T. gostely] no gostly T. rebel men]  
Rebelles T.
- 153 been] be T.
- 154 The ... þis (l. 155)] Odit deus manus ess[ua]dentes  
sanguinem innoxium. Prouerbia .vii<sup>j</sup><sup>o</sup>. The fyfthe  
commaundment ys T. Marginalium: Quintum mandatum T.
- 160 now] om. T.
- 161 of] on T. mannes slaughter] manslaughtre T.
- 162 with holding] and w<sup>t</sup>holdyng T.
- 163 fro] from T.
- 164 nedith] nedyn T.
- 165 of þe] to the T.

þei shulden lyfe iustely to please god  
 all myghty, ffor seynt austeyn seith  
 145 þat it is an houndishe condicion a  
 chylde to for yett to worshyp his  
 fadre and his moder. And so vnkynde  
 men, froward men & rebel men breken  
 þis heste. Why vnkynde men? For þei  
 150 helpen not her eldres as þei shulden.  
 Why froward men? For þei wol not  
 taken gostely techyng. Why rebel men?  
 For þei been vnbuxom to crist and  
 to his chirche. The fifte commmaund-  
 155 


 ment of god is þis.  
 Hou shalt not slee no man  
 wilfully, neiþir with euel  
 wil in hert. Ffor þis is one of þe .iiij.  
 synnes þat euer cryeth vengeance by  
 160 fore all myghty god. And now þis syn  
 is seid of .iiij. maners, as bodely man-  
 nes slaughter, bakbytyng, with holding  
 of worldely goodis or gostely fro  
 hem þat nedith þies goodis, and  
 165 euel ensample of lyuyng of þe pe-

[f. 7<sup>v</sup>]

- 168 seyth seynt poule] seynt poule seyth T. haip]  
haue T.
- 170 MS. men. wrathfull wrathful men (1. 171).
- 172 heest] commaundment T. MS. men for for þei (1. 173).
- 177 The ... god (1. 178)] Non erit meretrix de  
filiabus Israel neque scortator de filijs Israel.  
Deuteronomium .xxij<sup>o</sup>. The syxth commaundment ys.  
T. Marginalium: Sextum mandatum T.
- 178 not doo (1. 179)] do no T.
- 179 heest] commaundment T.
- 183 & holotre] om. T.
- 187 do] om. T.
- 188 lecherye ... hert (1. 189)] in hys hert the lechery T.

ple. All þis braunchyes bene be [f. 7<sup>v</sup>]  
 fore god grauous manslaughter, þe  
 whiche, as seyth seynt poule, haþ  
 no parte in þe kyngdom of heuen.

170 And þus enuyous men,  
 wrathful men & auarous men bre-  
 ken þis heest. Why enuyous men? For  
 þei haiten or bakbyten her bredren.

[f. 8<sup>r</sup>]

Why wrathful men? For þei smyten or  
 175 dispisen her bredren. Why auarous  
 men? For þei releue not in nede her  
 euencristen. The sixt commaundment

180	How shalt not of god. doo lechery. Thys heest forbidith þe cursed dede &
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stynkyng of bodely lecherie & gostely  
 also. Of bodely as symple fornicacion  
 & auoutrye & holotre, þe and ful con-  
 sent þerto, for þe leste of þis is dedely  
 185 synn hi fore god, and so crist seith in his  
 euangelie: Who so seith a woman and  
 consentyngely couetyth hir to do le-  
 cherye he haith doon lecherye in his

- 194 is] hit ys T.
- 196 life] lyfe tyme T. be fore] om. T.
- 197 in to] in T.
- 199 and died] and yef he dyed T.
- 200 ony] om. T.
- 201 to fore] before T. bryng] bryng hym T.
- 202 lawe] prophete T.
- 204 heste] commaundment T.
- 209 The ... þis (l. 210)] Nolite dare locum diabolo  
qui iurabatur iam non furetur magis autem laboret  
operando quod bonum est manibus suis vt habeat  
vnde tribuat necessitatem patienti. Ad Ephesios  
iiij<sup>co</sup>. The vij commaundment ys. T. Marginalium:  
Septimum Mandatum T.
- 211 not doo] do no T.

hert by fore god. Gostely lecherie is [r. 8<sup>r</sup>]

190 symonye, ydolatrie & ypocrisie, and  
 þe condicion of suche folke is to be sorye  
 when men vndirnymen hem, and glad

when men praisen hem. But of bode- [r. 8<sup>v</sup>]

ly lecherie is to wit, þat þough a man  
 195 had lyued neuer so wele and plesyngly  
 to god all his life be fore, and after  
 fel down in to lecherie by a syngle  
 woman, þe whiche some foolyes hol-  
 den litel synne, and died þerin with-  
 200 out any repentance, all his gode life  
 to fore shuld not saue hym, ne bryng  
 to blisse as god witnessith by his laws.

And þus fornicaries, auoutriers and ho-  
 louris breken þis heste. Why fornicari-  
 205 es? For þei deroulen her bodies in lechy-  
 rie. Why auoutriers? For þei breken  
 þe holy sacrament of matrymonie.

Why holouris? For þei waisten her  
 bodies vnkynedly. The seueneth

210   commaundment of god is þis.  
 Thou shalt not doo thefte,  
 Thefte as a doctour seith is

- 213 goodis] goodys theftly T.
- 214 owen] oweth T.
- 215 wronge] wrongfull T.
- 217 all] as T. preuey] preuyly T. robbynge] robry T.  
MS. corrected bil ylyng to bigylynge.
- 218 sleghtys] sleightys and deseytes T.
- 220 boipe] bothe of T. &] or T.
- 221 dede] of dede T. is forfendith] ys forfendyd T.
- 223 heest] commaundment T.
- 225 robben] robbe T.
- 227 The ... thys (l. 228)] *Ne testis sis frustra contra proximum tuum, ne laces quemquam labijs tuis. ne dicas quomodo fecit michi. sic faciam ei vt reddam unicuique secundum opus suum. Prouerbia .xxiiij. co*  
 The .viiij. commaundment ys. T. Marginalium:  
Octauum Mandatum T.
- 230 neighbore] euencrystyn T.
- 231 many] om. T.
- 232 a ... heir (l. 233)] om. T.
- 233 lesith] lesyn T. his] theyre T. heritage] ryght  
 herytage T. gyltelese men (l. 234)] a gyltlese man T.
- 234 doon] do T.



takyng of goodis withouten leue and [f. 8<sup>v</sup>]

will of hem þat owen hem. In þis god

215 forfendith all maner wronge takynge [f. 9<sup>r</sup>]

and withholdyng of eny mannes goode,

all preuey steillyng, robbynge & bi'g'ylyng,

all sleghtys in byynge and sellynge,

and þe dede of euy wrongeful takyng

220 of eny mannes goode, boiþe qwyke &

dede, is forfendith of god in þis com-

maundment. And þus mychers, robbers

& extorcioneris breken thys beest. Why

mychers? For þei stelyn preuely. Why

225 robbers? For þei robben openly. Why

extorcioners? For þei spoliën men of

her goodis falsely. The .viij. comma

undment of god is thys.

230 | Hou shalt not bere fals

witnes ayens þi negh-

bore, for þorowgh many

fals witnesse beryng, many a right

heir lesith his heritage & many gyl-

teles men is doon to deeth; þus crist

235 þat was moste innoſent & neuer did

synne was dampned to þe deeth by

- 237 heest] commaundment T.
- 240 he ... seith (l. 241)] he seyth hymself T.
- 242 lesynge] lesynges T. lesyng] lesynges T.
- 243 be] ben T.
- 244 questioneris] questmongars T.
- 245 heest] commaundment T.
- 246 bei] thy T.
- 247 questionaries] questmongars T.
- 248 Th[e] .ix. commaundment] Alij diuidunt propria  
& diciores fiunt. Alij capiunt non sua & semper  
in egestate sunt. Prouerbia .xi<sup>o</sup>. The ix. commaundment  
ys. T. Marginalium: ix<sup>m</sup>. mandatum T. MS. omits e in  
The.
- 251 wrongeful] wrong T.
- 252 goodys] good T.
- 254 and siluer] syluer T. of corne] and corne T. all]  
of all T.
- 255 mouen] moue T.
- 256 from] fro T. MS. expunged h before self.
- 257 heest] commaundment T.
- 258 maner] om. T.

two false witnessis. Also in his heest [f. 9<sup>v</sup>]

god forfendith all lesynges, for eche

lesyng is a false witnes ayenst criste,

240 þe whiche is trewth as he hym self

seith. Also seynt Ambrose seith: Bredren

flee ye lesyng, for all þat louen lesyng

be sones of þe deuel. And þus liers,

glosers and fals questioneris brekyn

245 þis heest. Why liers? For þei halten

trawth. Why glosers? For þei hiden

trawth. Why false questionaries? For

þe sellen trawth. Th[e] .ix. commandment.

250        Thou shalt not couett þi  
          neighbour's house. Here god  
          forfendith all wrongful

desire and couetyse of any mannes go-

odys, beþ of hous and lond, of gold

and silver, of cloith, of corn, and all

255 oþer thynges þat may not mouen þe

self from one place to an oþer. And

right as god forfendith in þe seuen-

neth heest þe dede of all unger wrong

ful takyng of any mannes goodis, so in

[f. 10<sup>r</sup>]

- 260 heest] commaundment T. maner] om. T.
- 263 The ... this (l. 264)] Si mechatus fuerit quis cum vxore alterius, & adulterium perpetraverit cum vxore proximi sui morte moriatur, mechus & adultera. leuiticus .xx<sup>o</sup>. The .x<sup>th</sup>. commaundment ys. T.
- 265 þe wife (l. 266)] om. T.
- 266 ne] om. T.
- 269 is his] hys ys T.
- 270 heest] commaundment T.
- 271 heest] commaundment T.
- 274 so is ... hert deadly synne (l. 275)] so the ... hert ys dedely syn T.
- 275 by cause (l. 276)] because that T.
- 276 weneth] wenen T.
- 279 myghten] myght T.
- 281 wolden] wolde T.
- 282 þe straitnes] streytnes T.

- 260 þis heest he forfendith all maner wrong- [f. 10<sup>r</sup>]  
ful desire and couetyse in hert to eny  
mannes goods, for þe leste of þies is  
deedly synne. The tenoth commmand-  
ment of god is this.
- 265       |       Hou shalt not desire þe  
          |       wife of þi neghbur, ne  
          |       his seruaunt, ne his maide,  
ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne no thyng  
þat is his. And right as god in þe
- 270 vj heest forfendith þe dede of lecherie  
& sponsebreche, so in þis heest he for-  
fendith þe will and þe consent of þe  
hert, for as þe dede of lechery is dedly  
synne, so is þe ful consent and þe de-
- 275 syre of þe hert deedly synne. And by  
cause many foolis weneth þat if þei  
doo not þe dede of lechery þan  
it is no peril all be it þat þei wol-  
den doo it by her wil, if þei myg-
- 280 hten com þerto. And by cause also  
þat many foolis wolden be theues ne [f. 10<sup>v</sup>]  
war it for þe straitnes of þe lawe &

- 283 vene] wenen T. be] ys T.  
 284 to] for to T. of mys] amys T.  
 285 her] that T. wrong] wrongfull T.  
 286 couetise] desyre T.  
 287 .ij.] two T. forfendith] forbedeth T.  
 289 noghbur] neighbors T.  
 293 commaundmentis] holy commaundmentes T.  
 294 shule] MS. shulde with d subpuncted; shall T.  
 295 frome ... ouel] om. T.  
 296 is right] ys the ryght T. And] om. T.  
 297 & dede] art in dede T. criste] God T.  
 298 & confessours] confessours T.  
 299 all holy men] all other holy folke, men T.  
 300 to heuen] to go to heuen T.

[f. 10<sup>v</sup>]

for the galowes & wene þat it be no synne  
 to coueite of mys in hert oþer mennys  
 285 goodis, but if þei fulfill her wrong  
 couetise in dede. þerfore god here in  
 þis .ij. last commaundmentis forfendith  
 fals couetise of þi neghburis godys  
 and also vnleful desite of þi neghbur  
 290 wife, in tokene þat suche vnreasonable  
 couetise with out þe dede doying is  
 dampnable in þe sight of god. þerfore  
 kepe we tisely & wilfully þis comma-  
 undmentis of god & þei shule kepe  
 295 vs frome all maner euil; þis is þe wey  
 & none oþer is right wey to heuen. And  
 in þis wey, boiþ in worde & dede, criste  
 & his apostils, martirs & confessours,  
 virgynes & all holy men and women  
 300 haue taught vs trewly to heuen.

## Notes

- 1 Fili mi custodi .... T [Proverbia, vii, 1-3]. The Latin biblical text in T does not agree in every respect with potentially available contemporary vulgate texts; compare, for example, T's text with that of the following:

Fili me, custodi sermones meos, & precepta mea  
reconde tibi. Fili honora dominum, & ualebis:  
preter eum uero ne timueris alienum. Serua mandata  
mea & uiues, & legem meam quasi pupillam oculi  
tui. Liga eam in digitis tuis, scribe illam in  
tabulis cordis tui. Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa  
Ordinaria, & Nicolai Lyrani Postilla, Moralitatibus,  
Additionibus & Replicis. Lugdini. 1545, hereafter  
referred to as Bible, Lyra.

B (otherwise unrelated to T) has the same or similar Latin headings as T, but as marginalia. The B text of The Ten Commandments could be considered a much-shortened rhetorical version, but lacks the repetition of 'Who brekiþ þe \_\_\_\_\_ commaundement', and reads, for example, in the second commandment, 'hou takist þ<sup>u</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> name of god in veyn? When I name god or any creature, þerus ydel speche or custumable swering', f. 3<sup>r</sup>. This text is not included in the catalogue of the versions of The Ten Commandments; another B text (ff. 16<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>v</sup>) is included under the rhetorical versions.

- 2 God ... hestys (line 20). The text of Ed agrees, in general, with the WBL.

WBL, Exodus xx, 1-7 (with variants from 'MS. I', Bodley MS. 277; asterisks indicate place at which variation begins):

And the Lord spak alle these wordis. Y am thi Lord  
God, that ladde thee out of the lond of Egipt, fro  
the hous of seruage. Thou schalt not make to thee  
a graun ymage, nethir ony licsesse of thing which  
is in heuene aboue, and which is in erthe bynethe,  
nether of the thingis, that ben in watis vndur erthe;  
thou schalt not \*herie the [loue hem MS. I], nether  
\*thou schalt worshiþe [worschiþe hem MSS. IS]; for  
Y am thi Lord God, a stronge gelouse leuyere; and  
[om. MSS. UK] Y visite the wickidnesse of fadris  
[fadris in children MS. I] in to the thridde and  
the fourthe generacioun of hem that haten [hatiden  
MS. I] me, and Y do mercy in to a thousynde



[thousendes MSS. IS], to hem that louen me, and kepen myn heestis.

Ed agrees in variation with Bodley MS. 277, but the agreement is not complete, as a close comparison of texts reveals. The variants from Bodl. MS. 277 are noted by way of partial explanation of the variation in Ed: that is, the scribe of Ed, or its source, may have used a version of the Wycliffite Bible as a check against the biblical text of his exemplar, and finding his exemplar wanting substituted 'correct' readings for 'defective' ones.

According to Forshall and Madden, Bodl. 277 is a revised copy of the WEL: the revisor's 'object was to render the version more plain and intelligible'; see WB, i, p. xxxi. C<sub>3</sub> also seems to have used a biblical text very close to that of Bodl. 277: see the first commandment, f. 3<sup>rv</sup>.

41. Vir multum iurans .... T [Ecclesiasticus, xxiii, 12].  
Again, T's Latin text does not agree with a contemporary Vulgate version.

Bible, Lyra: Vir multum iurans implebitur iniquitate,  
& non discedet a domo illius plaga.

B: Vir multum iurans replebitur iniquitate  
& non discedet a domo eius plaga, ecc. 23<sup>o</sup>.

- 60 And ... creatures (line 69). This passage should be compared with the following from B<sub>1</sub>:

Crist techiþ in þe gospel to have oure wordis þus,  
þhe, þhe, and nai, nay wiþouten ony oop. Þere he  
doubliþ his wordis, as if he wolde seie, -- 3if  
3e seie 3he in 3oure soule, seie 3he wiþ 3oure  
mouþ, and be 3e trewe men. Select English Works  
of John Wyclif, ed. T. Arnold, (Oxford, 1869-71),  
iii, 84; cited as 'Arnold'.

- 72 nedefull .... not (line 74). T's omission of 'nedefull'.  
Why ydil swerers? For oopis be not' is probably  
attributable to homoteleuton, the scribe of T having  
copied 'not' of line 72 then copied the word following  
'not' of line 74 -- 'medefull'. It is also possible  
that T's exemplar read 'ffor theyre wordys be nat medefull'  
(as do Tn, and Tc among others) and that the omission  
in T was occasioned by the repetition of '-edefull'.

76 T's Latin biblical text agrees with Bible, Lyra, [Jeremias xvii, 27]. B: for Si read Ex.

78 Ed's passage (lines 78-90) should be compared with the following extracts from the WHEL, Exodus xx, 8-11:

Haue mynde to halve thin holy day [WBE];  
in sixe daies thou schalt worche and schalt  
do alle thi werkis; forsothe in the seuenthe  
day is the sabat of thi Lord God; thou schalt  
not \*do any werk [do in it seruyle werk MS.I],  
thou, and thi sone, and thi doustir, and thi  
seruaunt, and thin handmaide, thi werke beeste,  
and the comelyng which [that MS. IC] is withyne  
thi satis; for in sixe dayes God made heuene and  
erthe, the see, and alle thingis that be in the,  
and restide in the seuenthe dai; herfor the Lord  
blesside the dai of the sabat, and halewide it.  
[WEL]

The reading in Ed of 'And fro þies werkes shuld þies  
sixe kepe hem', line 82, does not occur in T; the only  
other text which has this reading is C<sub>2</sub>, f. 5<sup>r</sup>, but  
this text has numerous biblical readings not shared  
by Ed, and is also a different version. Another reading  
omitted (vis-a-vis Ed) by T is that of lines 87-90,  
'for ... holy'; the closely related text of C<sub>2</sub>, f. 5<sup>r</sup>,  
also omits this clause, but it is difficult to trace  
T's omission back to and through C<sub>2</sub> as this latter  
text has a much-condensed biblical passage, thus  
obliterating its antecedents. Again, the variation in  
and among the various biblical texts in the different  
texts of The Ten Commandments points towards either  
independent, coincident variation or to scribal access  
to 'revised' versions of the WB.

125 leyuen. T's reading 'loue nat' is unique, all other  
extant manuscripts reading a form of 'leyuen'.

127 Honora patrem tuum .... T [Ecclesiasticus vii, 29-30]  
should be compared with Bible, Lyra: Honora patrem tuum,  
& genitus matris tue obliuiscaris. Memento, quoniam  
nisi per illos natus non fuisses: & retribue illis,  
quomodo & illi tibi.

B follows T.

- 128      Worshyp ... erth (line 130). This passage should be compared with WHE, Exodus xx, 12:  
  
Honour thi fader and thi moder, that thou be of long lijf vpon erthe, that the Lord þhi God shal gyue to thee.
- 154      Odit deus manus .... T [Proverbia viii]. I have not been able to locate this reference.  
          B follows T.
- 156      Thou ... hert (line 158). WBL reads: 'Thou schalt not sle.' The EdT addition is unique.
- 177      T's Latin biblical text agrees with Bible, Lyra [Deuteronomium xxiii, 17]. B follows T.
- 220      Nolite dare locum .... T [Ad Ephesios iv, 27-28]; compare with text of Bible, Lyra: Nolite locum dare diabolo. Qui furabatur, iam non furetur: magis autem laboret operando manibus suis, quod bonum est, ut habeat unde tribuat necessitatem patienti.  
B: Nolite locum dare diabolo qui furabatur iam non furetur, magis autem laboret operando manibus quod bonum est vt habeat unde tribuat necessitatem patienti. eph. .4.
- 227      Ne testis sis .... T [Proverbia xxiv, 28-29] should be compared with Bible, Lyra: Ne sis testis frustra contra proximum tuum: nec laces, quenquam labiis tuis. Ne dicas: Quomodo fecit mihi, si faciam ei: & reddam unicuique secundum opus suum.  
          B agrees with Bible, Lyra.
- 244      glossers. O.E.D. s.v. Glozer [f. Gloze v<sup>1</sup> + er<sup>1</sup>] 1, gives the meaning 'One who writes glosses; a commentator', and cites 'Siþ many falce glosers, maken goddis lawe derk', The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, ed. F.D. Matthew, E.E.T.S. O.S. lxxiv, 284. However, there is a more precise definition implicit in Wyclif's condemnation of 'clerkis possessioners' who 'suffren, helpen & meyntenen false prechouris, glosers, to robbe þe pæple bi fals beggynges, bi symonye & ypocrisie & blasphemye putt vpon crist', The English Works of Wyclif, 135. Here 'glosers' are identified (as an appositive)

with 'false prechouris'.  
 fals questioneris. T reads 'false questmongars'.  
 'Questioneris' and 'questmongars' mean virtually  
 the same thing: see O.E.D., s.v. Questmonger, 'One  
 who made a business of conducting inquests.'

- 248 Alij diuidant propria .... T [Proverbia xi, 24]  
 ought to be compared with Bible, Lyra: Alij  
 diuidunt propria & ditiores fiunt: alij rapiunt non  
 sua, & semper in egestate sunt.  
 B agrees with Bible, Lyra.
- 263 Si mechatis fuerit ... T [Leviticus xx, 10] should  
 be compared with Bible, Lyra: Si moechatus quis  
 fuerit cum uxore alterius, & adulterium perpetrauerit  
 cum uxore proximi sui mort, moriantur, & [om. B,  
 otherwise agrees with Bible, Lyra] moechus &  
 adultera,
- 274 so is ... synne (line 275). T's omission of this  
 clause seems to be the result of the repetition  
 of 'synne'.
- 284 of mys. T reads 'amys': both 'of mys' and 'amys'  
 can be read here as 'wrongly', see O.E.D. s.v. Amis  
 adv., pred.a., and sub., A.3., and s.v. Miss sb.  
 II, 3.

**Biblical Sources**

- 5 Exodus xx, 1-6.
- 21 Luke x, 27.
- 42 Exodus xx, 7.
- 47 Jeremias iv, 2.
- 56 Matthew v, 37.
- 66 James v, 17.
- 77 Exodus xx, 11.
- 98 Matthew xxiii, 24.
- 128 Exodus xx, 12-13.
- 132 Ecclesiasticus vii, 29-30.
- 138 Exodus xxi, 17; Matthew xv, 4-6.
- 144 I have been unable to locate this reference.
- 156 Exodus xx, 13.
- 168 1 Corinthians vi, 9-10.
- 178 Exodus xx, 14.
- 186 Matthew v, 28.
- 202 Matthew v, 19.
- 211 Exodus xx, 15.
- 213 I have been unable to locate this reference.
- 229 Exodus xx, 16.
- 240 John xiv, 6.
- 241 I have been unable to locate this reference.
- 249 Exodus xx, 17.
- 265 Exodus xx, 17.

## The Manuscript Relationships of The Three Goods

The hitherto unedited tract The Three Goods is extant in three other manuscripts in addition to E.U.L. MS. 93 (Ed) ff. 25<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>; they are:<sup>1</sup>

(L) Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 23, f. 43<sup>rv</sup>.

(T) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.3.21 (601), f. 12<sup>r</sup>, col. a - 12<sup>v</sup>, col.b.

(Cc) Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 385, pp. 220-221.

The existence of the tract has been noted by Dr. P.S. Jolliffe, Check-List, 109, item I.19, but Jolliffe's entry is not complete,<sup>2</sup> for he has the tract surviving in Ed and Cc alone, nor is his comment that Cc is 'imperfect at end' accurate, (see note to line 67).

The results of a detailed collation of the above manuscripts are summarized in the following notation.

[Ed][CcT:L]

In the discussion which follows, the distinct character of Ed will be established; the similarities

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<sup>1</sup> For references to these manuscripts see 'Manuscripts: Notices and Descriptions'.

<sup>2</sup> The above list of surviving manuscripts is not complete in any final sense; other manuscripts containing The Three Goods may survive, but a search of the 50 or so manuscripts containing tracts also found in Ed has brought to light T and L only. Dr. A.I. Doyle, in a personal letter of 22 June, 1975, stated that he did not have anything noted for The Three Goods.

and dissimilarities within the textual group CcTL will be considered, and in a concluding section the wider textual relationships of the group CcTL will be commented on.

#### I. The distinct character of Ed.

As the following significant variant readings of agreements in additions, omissions, substitutions, and word order<sup>3</sup> indicate, the text of Ed is not as close to the texts of Cc, T, and L as these texts are to each other. To keep the discussion within manageable proportions, less significant or minor variation (for example, addition of 'to', line 25, 'pat', line 32, or substitution of 'þe' for 'þis', line 5) is not considered.

##### Additions:

##### line(s)

9	Ed	rekennyng	CcTL	a streyt rekenyng
17	Ed	bought with	CcTL	bouste þe with
23-24	Ed	art in hele	CcTL	art of power and in hele
33	Ed	know þou	CcTL	knowe þou weel

---

<sup>3</sup> Throughout the discussion of manuscript relationships the terms 'addition', 'omission', 'substitution' are used to describe textual differences as they occur between Ed and the other manuscripts which are compared to it. The text of Ed is taken to be a copy of the tract *The Three Goods* and not the original: it is used here as a base text. It is possible, of course, that Ed is closer to the original than CcTL, but this cannot be proven.

35	Ed	halowen	CcTL	his halwen
39	Ed	me goddis	CcTL	me in goddis

The scribe of Ed, if presented with a CcTL-like exemplar, may have, in the act of copying, pruned that exemplar; it is also possible that the scribe of Ed made a faithful copy of his exemplar and merely preserved that exemplar's text. These explanations account, in a general way, for Ed or its exemplar's dependence upon a CcTL-like source. It is also possible that the readings in CcTL are additions made by the immediate source of CcTL to its text, and that Ed's readings preserve vestiges of a now lost text to which the immediate source of CcTL had access. This explanation accounts for the agreements in variation in CcTL while allowing for the possibility that Ed drew from a text antecedent to that used by CcTL. As the following readings indicate, Ed, as a text, is distinct from the text (in its shared form) of CcTL.

#### Omissions:

##### line(s)

13-14	Ed	þe chefe lord of hem to [y]eue hem to whome he wil	
	CcTL	þ <sup>e</sup> cheef lord, hem to ʒeue to wom he wole	
24	Ed	euerlastynge helth	CcTL helþe
31	Ed	fals world	CcTL world
37	Ed	seith lightly	CcTL sei



## Substitutions:

## line(s)

19	Ed	peynes	CcTL	peyne
55,65	Ed	synnes	CcTL	synne
37	Ed	saith	CcTL	doth
64	Ed	trustely	CcTL	truly
	CcTL	triste not so in goddis mercy but pat [om. TL] þ <sup>u</sup> drede		
41	Ed	trust so in goddis mercy þat þou ne drede		

## Word Order:

line 16	Ed	wele or euel	CcTL	euel or weel
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It is not possible to say with any certainty that Ed's unique readings are attributable to a source distinct from that used by CcTL, for Ed's variation may well be the result of independent variation: the scribe of Ed may have altered his text for various reasons, but none of his alterations say anything substantive about his immediate source. It is clear that whatever the precise character of Ed's immediate source, it is, for the most part, not very far removed from a CcTL-like text.

However, it is possible to exclude L and Cc from consideration as possible immediate sources for Ed:

(i) L omits lines 55-59, lines not likely to be supplied independently by Ed, or CcT.

(ii) Cc substitutes 'meke' for EdTL's 'trew', line 54, and 'here' for EdTL's 'of', line 55; in both cases the agreements in variation by EdTL point toward their dependence upon a text distinct from that of Cc.

Moreover, Cc adds, at line 67, a long extract from 'The Seven Deadly Sins',<sup>4</sup> and as this extract is an integral part of Cc's tract it is unlikely that EdTL would, independently of each other, end their copying of a text of continuous prose at precisely the same point.

(iii) It has been shown, so far, that L and Cc were probably not the immediate sources for Ed, or T, but the further exclusion of T as a possible source for Ed or LCc presents certain problems.

(1) The only variants in T which might be called 'indicative errors' are the minor omissions of the article 'a' at line 44, and 'þe' at line 10; at line 49 the scribe of Cc has added (above and between 'to' and 'man') 'a', and at line 10 L agrees with T in omitting 'þe', but these readings lack the conjunctive force of a major omission, or interpolation.

(2) At the very place where T and Cc agree in such a major omission-- at line 56 both T and Cc omit (vis-a-vis Ed) 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe'-- L is silent having omitted 'god ... to', lines 55-59. L's four line omission is explicable through a mechanical error: the passage, part of which is omitted, begins with 'to god' and ends with 'to goddis'. This, of course, does not exclude L from dependence upon T. However, it can be argued that TCc's omission of 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe' is

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<sup>4</sup> For a full consideration of this addition see the discussion of the unique character of Cc, below, and for the text see note to line 67.

not a conjunctive 'error', that the phrase, of its nature (for it questions, implicitly, formal confession to a priest at least once a year)<sup>5</sup> is potentially objectionable to scribes of different doctrinal suasion, and that its omission is a result of independent, coincident variation, and not dependence upon the same immediate source. Alternatively the scribe of Ed may have added the phrase in an attempt to make precise the slightly ambiguous 'knowlecchyng of synnes to god and man' ('aftir þe forme of goddis lawe' that is).

(3) T has several unique readings which do not appear in any of the surviving texts: for example, at lines 22, 32, 38, and 64, T reads 'commaundmentes' for EdLCC's 'hestis'. These readings may originate with the scribe of T, or they may represent the readings of T's exemplar, but if T were the immediate source for Ed, L, or Cc one would expect to find, given the number and pattern of T's unique readings, one or two T-like readings in at least one of the surviving texts, but this is not the case. In the end, the case against T as the possible immediate source for Ed, L, or Cc rests on this third point, and it is suggested with some hesitation that T is probably not the immediate source for any of the surviving texts.

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Wyclif's comment in 'Nota de Confessione': 'Also þis lawe of confessioun þat iche man mut nedis shryuen oony in þe 3er priuely to his propur prest, it semeþ opun aȝens reson.' The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, ed. F.D. Matthew, E.E.T.S. O.S. lxxiv (1880), 329. For a full discussion of this reading, and possible scribal attitudes toward it, see note to line 56.

If this conclusion is accepted, then it is possible to characterize Ed as a text that is close to the texts of Cc, T and L, but is separated from these texts by at least one other text -- its immediate source -- not Cc, T, or L.

## II. The textual group CcTL, and its wider connexions.

In comparing Cc, T, and L with Ed certain agreements in variation occur between Cc and T, and T and L, agreements which are, at first, suggestive of Cc and L's dependence upon T. As discussed above, the possibility exists that T is the immediate source of one or both of the texts, but, as suggested, it is not a possibility leading to a probability. The similarities between Cc and T, and T and L remain, however, and it is well to consider them now, and separately, involving, as this will, the reconsideration of familiar readings.

### The shared readings of CcT.

For the most part, the agreement in variation between Cc and T has been covered in (1) and (2) above, but the purpose there was the consideration of T as a possible source for Cc (among others), and not a consideration of CcT's dependence upon the same immediate source. CcT have no additions or substitutions in common; the shared agreements are confined to the omission of line 56, 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe', and the relatively minor omissions of line 10, 'þe', and line 49, 'a' (the omission of 'a' in Cc has been corrected by the scribe). The

textual evidence of the tract itself is not solid enough to support the assertion that Cc and T depend upon the same immediate source. The only other evidence which might be of use lies outside the text itself: T and Cc share, besides The Three Goods, the tract beginning (in T) 'Charyte ys aloue that we shuld haue to god'; this tract follows, in both T and Cc, The Three Goods.<sup>6</sup> The text of the unique addition in Cc is a fragment from the concluding commentary on the seventh deadly sin (see note to line 67 for text) and can also be found in The Seven Deadly Sins of T, f. 7<sup>v</sup>, col. a. Given the fact that the only other surviving manuscripts which contain either or both of these tracts also contain The Three Goods, it is reasonable to conjecture that Cc and T drew upon the same source for 'Charyte ys aloue', The Three Goods, and The Seven Deadly Sins, whole (T), or in part (Cc).

The shared readings of TL.

T and L agree in variation against Ed and Cc at lines 1, and 41: TL, at line 1, substitute (vis-a-vis Ed) 'Howe a [om. L] man shall yelde a streyt~ reconyng of thre goodys' for Ed's 'Off thre maner goodis'. Cc has no rubric. At line 41 TL substitute 'but' for Ed's 'pat', and Cc reads 'but pat'. Clearly, the shared rubric

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<sup>6</sup> 'Charyte ys aloue' occurs in T, ff. 12<sup>v</sup>, col. b - 16<sup>v</sup>, col. b; in Cc it is found on pp. 221-222. The tract is also found in Durham Dean and Chapter MS. A. IV. 22, pp. 105-116, and John Rylands Library MS. English 85, ff. 25<sup>v</sup> - 36<sup>v</sup>, Jolliffe, Check-List, 127, item M.4.

of line 1 is indicative of T and L's dependence, at some stage, upon the same source; this rubric echoes the clause 'when thou shalt yelde a streyte rekenyng of all goodys that god hath lent to the' also found in TLCc. Again, the textual evidence of the tract will not support the assertion that T and L depend upon the same immediate source: the evidence of one rubric, while substantial, is not compelling, and the substitution of 'but' for 'pat', while intriguing in the particular context (see note to line 41), may be the result of independent, coincident variation. As with the shared readings of CcT (above) it is possible to look beyond the tract The Three Goods itself, and to identify one other tract shared by L and T: The Three Goods of T is preceded by the tract The Twelve Lettings of Prayer, and in L The Twelve Lettings follows it.<sup>7</sup> Again, no other manuscript, other than T, contains the two tracts together, so the inference that L and T drew upon the same source for both The Twelve Lettings and The Three Goods is a reasonable one, but one that on purely textual grounds is not certain.

### III. The manuscript relations of The Three Goods: A Summary.

(1) The text of Ed, because of various additions, omissions, and substitutions, can be seen as a text

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<sup>7</sup> The Twelve Lettings is found in T on ff. 10<sup>r</sup>, col.b - 12<sup>x</sup>, col.a; in L on ff. 44<sup>v</sup> - 46<sup>v</sup>; for other copies see Durham Dean and Chapter MS. A. IV. 22, pp. 98-103; John Rylands Library MS. 85, ff. 19<sup>r</sup> - 24<sup>v</sup>, and British Museum MS. Cotton Titus D. xix, ff. 158<sup>r</sup> - 161<sup>v</sup>, Jolliffe, Check-List, 85, item G.3.

distinct from those of Cc, T and L, but one that is, nevertheless, close to the immediate source of Cc, T, and L.

(ii) The texts of Cc, T, and L form a fairly tight textual group. It has been tentatively established that as a result of additions, omissions, and patterns of substitution none of the extant texts could have been the immediate source of the other, and that as a result of agreements in variation it is possible that Cc, T, and L used, at some stage, the same immediate source.

(iii) The possibility that Cc, T, and L used the same immediate source is strengthened by the discovery that T contains two other tracts, in addition to The Three Goods, one of which appears in L and the other in Cc. T is the only extant manuscript which contains all three tracts, and as T is textually related to L and Cc, but not sufficiently so to be the source of either, it is suggested that T, along with L and Cc, drew from an immediate source having the same contents, and in perhaps the same order, as T; that is T, L, and Cc did not, it is suggested, draw, for example, The Twelve Lettings from one manuscript, The Three Goods from another, and 'Charyte ys aloue' from yet another. The over-lap of tracts in Cc, T and L can be accounted for by assuming the existence of a T-like immediate source.

- 1 Off ... goddis] Howe a [om. L] man shall yelde a  
 streyte reonyng of thre goodys TL; om. Cc.  
 5 þis] the TCcL.  
 9 yelde] siue L. rekennyng] a streyte rekenyng TCcL.  
 10 þe] om. TCc.  
 11 to] om. L. þat] om. TCcL.  
 13 of] om. TCcL.  
 14 [y]eue hem] MS. þeue hem; yeue TCcL. to] 'to' Cc.  
 15 wele or euel] euell or well TCcL.  
 17 bought with] bought the w<sub>i</sub>th TCcL.  
 19 peynes] payne TCcL.  
 22 hestis] com<sub>m</sub>au<sub>n</sub>dmentes T.  
 23 art in hele (1. 24)] art of power and in heele TCcL.  
 24 euerlastyng] om. TCcL.  
 25 lent þe] lent to the TCcL.  
 28 &] for to L.



Off thre maner goodis.

[f. 25<sup>v</sup>]

	ff þou haue godis of grace as <u>vertues</u> , or godis of kynde as myght & strenkeþ, or
--	--

5 goodis of fort'u'ne as goodis of þis wor-  
ld, spend hem wele and discretly whil  
þou myght and art of power, for ellis  
þei shal turne to þine accusynge at þi  
moste nede, whan þou shalt yelde reken-  
10 nyng of all þe goodis þat god hath  
lent to þe whil þat þou dwellist here.  
Ffor anone as þou art dede þe goodis  
turne ayen to god, þe chefe lord of  
hem to [y]eue hem to whome he wil,  
15 and payne or mede to þe, aftir þine  
wele or euel dispendynge. Ffor god-  
dis loue þat bought with his hard  
passion and his precious bloid, eiþir  
for drede of bitter peynes, eiþer for  
20 loue of heuenly blis forsake and dis-  
pise þi syn, and leyue syn or it leyue  
þe; & kepe trewly goddis hestis, and  
with þi god wil, whil þou maist and art  
in hele, purchase þe euerlastynge helth  
25 with þe goodis þat god hath lent þe,  
for whan þou diest, þou myght no lenger  
kepe hem. Be not ashamed to be  
scorned of folys & begyn to be a good

[f. 26<sup>r</sup>]

- 31 fals] om. TCcL. stil] om. L. in]'in' L.
- 32 say it] sey that hyt TCcL. heestis] commaund-  
mentes T.
- 33 know þou] know thow well TCcL. more] the more  
TCcL.
- 34 short, and] short TCcL.
- 35 halow'en'] hys halewyn TCcL.
- 37 lightly] om. TCcL. saith] dothe TCcL.
- 38 hestis] commaundmentes T. I] 'I' Cc.
- 39 me goddis] me in goddys TCcL.
- 41 trust so] trust nat so TCcL. þat] but TL; but  
þat Cc. ne] om. TCcL.
- 49 a] 'a' Cc; om. T.
- 50 And] om. Cc.
- 52 for] by TCcL.
- 54 trew] meke Cc.
- 55 of] here Cc. synnes] synne TCcL. god ... to  
(1. 59)] om. L.
- 56 aftir ... lawe] om TCc.

man, but be sore ashamed before þi  
 30 conscience to be praisid and borne vp  
 of þe fals world and dwel stil in syn.  
 If þou say it is hard to kepe goddis hee-  
 stis know þou þat þi mede is more in  
 heuen, and þi tyme is but short, and  
 35 god and all halow'en' wil helpe þe, if  
 þou wilt yif fully þi wil þerto. If þou  
 seith lightly as þe fals world saith:  
 goddis hestis may I not kepe, ne leyue [f. 26<sup>v</sup>]  
 all greit synnes, but I put me [in] god-  
 40 dis mercy. Here I warne þe þat þou  
 trust so in goddis mercy þat þou ne drede  
 his rightwisnes, for in what synn rig-  
 htwisnes fyndith þe deed, þerin he wil  
 þe fast bynde, as seynt gregori saith  
 45 and saynt bernard also. And also þe  
 lenger þat god abidith, þe harder he  
 demeth, if we amend vs not. And  
 saynt austeyn saith þat god yeueth  
 not mercy to a man til he dispose hym  
 50 to make an ende of his synn. And as  
 men bene lost for wanehope, so ma-  
 ny men bene begylid for ouerhope to  
 goddis mercy without worthy fruyt of  
 penance, þe which ben lowe & trew  
 55 knowlecchyng of synnes to god and  
 man aftir þe forme of goddis lawe,

- 59 of foryeuenes] foryeuenes TCcL.  
63 fast] faste nist & day L.  
64 trustely] trewly TCcL. heestis] commandmentes T.  
65 synnes] syn TCcL.  
67 Amen] om. TCcL.

& ful contricion & hole satisfaccion. And  
 with þies meynes haue stedfast hope  
 to goddis mercy, and of foryeuenes of  
 60 synn. Here þou haist be fore þe good & [f. 27<sup>r</sup>]  
 yuel, sour and swete, life and deeth,  
vertues and vices, ioy and peyne, ny-  
 ght & day: þerfore pray fast to god  
 þat þou folow trustely his heestis, and  
 65 to put away stynkyng synnes þat  
 preuely bryngeth in deeth to mannes  
 soule. Amen.

## Notes

- 13 Ed's reading 'þe chefe lord of hem to [y]eue hem to whome he wil' (line 14) is to be compared with TCcL's 'the chyef lord, hem to yeue to whom he woll'. The manuscript reading in Ed is 'þeue', but the þ and y in Ed are not always clearly distinguished, and the scribe may have intended a y; alternatively, the scribe of Ed may have been influenced by the letter shape of an exemplar which confused þ and y. The reading 'þeue hem to whome he wil' does not make sense, and for this reason, together with the reading of TCcL, the text of Ed is emended.
- 23 whil þou maist and art in hele (line 24). TCcL read 'whyte thow mayst and art of power and in heele' which echoes the reading of lines 6-7 'whil þou myght and art of power'; the scribe of Ed may have pruned his text, for the phrase is, within the confines of a short tract, obviously repetitive. It does not seem likely that the scribes of T, Cc, and L, copying independently of each other, would have introduced 'of power and in': the addition, if indeed it is such, is probably not the result of independent, coincident variation.
- 24 euerlastynge. TCcL omit this modifier, or, possibly, its appearance in Ed is an addition. Although 'helth' here may be taken to imply more than physical well-being, the Ed scribe may not have been satisfied with its implications, and added 'euerlastynge' so as to secure the point. If the immediate source of TCcL had the reading 'euerlastynge', then it is possible that the scribes of T, Cc, and L wished to soften the message and to focus the reader's attention on what was attainable -- well-being in this world through the proper use of 'þe goodis þat god hath lent' him (line 25).
- 31 In L 'in' has been inserted between 'duelle' and 'synne'.
- 38 In Cc 'I' has been inserted above and between 'may' and 'not'.
- 39 put me [in] goddis mercy. TCcL read 'put me in goddys mercy'. It is clear from the reading in line 46 'trust so in goddis mercy' that the text presupposes the imagined speaker to have put himself in God's mercy. The warning is addressed to that imagined speaker who will not keep 'goddys hestis', nor 'leyue all greit synnes', but delivers himself

to the mercy of God. The text is emended in an attempt to clarify what it is that the sinner actually does.

- 40 Here ... rightwisnes (line 42). TCcL read 'Here I warne the that thow trust nat so in goddys mercy, but [but þat Cc] thow drede hys rightwysnes.' The reading of TCcL is a compound sentence which can be broken into two admonitions: 'Sinner, do not place your trust in God's mercy alone' and 'be afraid of his righteousness.' In TCcL, the sinner's trust in God's mercy is treated as a separate matter, and is not connected directly to his dread of God's righteousness, but in Ed the warning is directed toward the sinner whose excessive trust in God's mercy leads him into the error of taking lightly God's judgement of his moral life. In Ed, the sinner's loss of dread of God's righteousness is a result of his 'ouerhope to goddis mercy' (lines 52-53).

- 49 In Cc 'a' has been inserted above and between 'to' and 'man'.

- 55 Knowlecchyng ... mercy (line 59). The omission in L of 'god ... to' (line 59) is probably the result of the similarity of 'to god' and 'to goddis': the scribe of L, losing his place, resumed copying at a similar place thus omitting the passage. There is also the possibility that the omission is not mechanical, and that the entire passage is objectionable for doctrinal reasons, as seems to be the case with TCc's omission of 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe'.

The text of L, as a result of the omission of the above passage, leaves the reader with the impression that penance is the acknowledging of one's sins to God's mercy (not to God) and that penance is the forgiveness of sin; the scribe of L (or the scribe of his immediate source) has contrived to distort, perhaps unknowingly, an important sacrament. As the other texts make clear, sins are acknowledged to god and man, and through contrition and the penance, 'hole satisfaccion', the sinner is allowed to hope in God's mercy and to hope for forgiveness of his sins.

The omission of 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe' in TCc may be attributable to a scribe alert to the controversy surrounding confession in late medieval England. The qualification of confession by the phrase 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe' can be identified with Wyclif's 'Nota de Confessione', The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, ed. F.D. Matthew, E.E.T.S. O.S. lxxiv (1880), 325-345. [Matthew (p. 325) follows W.W. Shirley in ascribing the 'Nota de Confessione' to Wyclif].

Wyclif, in this tract on confession, distinguishes between confession according to the old law ('goddis lawe') and the new law, which is the creation of the Pope: 'þus it semeþ presumpcioun of þis pope [Innocent] to make þis lawe; for hooly churcheshould not þus be charged wip newe lawes, whenne oolde sufficeden', pp. 328-329. Wyclif then uses his distinction between the old and new law to question the efficacy of contemporary forms of confession:

3itt it were to wite þe reson of goddis lawe whi men shulden hoolde hem in here bondes, & not make lawe frc cristis ordre. It is oft seid in goddis lawe þat men shulden not adde þerto ne take þerfro, lest þei failen, siþ it is made at poynt deuyse; and þus it semeþ a feendis presumpcioun, þat hiþeþ himself a-bouen god, to make þus a newe lawe wipouten leue of þe furst treuþe. Also þis lawe of confessioun þat iche man mut nedis shryuen oonys in þe 3er priuely to his propur prest, it semeþ opun a3ens reson. for a man may be baptized in tyme þat he haþ discrecioun, & anon aftur be ded wip-outen doynge of dedly synne. lord, whi shuld þis man be dampned al if he shriue him not þus in þe 3eer? Ion baptist shroof hym neuer þus, ne any apostle of crist; and 3itt bileue nedib vs to graunte þat þei ben seyntes in heuen. and þus it may fallen of many martyres, & of men þat han no propur prest. who is he þat lettib god to saue men as he haþ ordeyned before þe pope & his lawe camen inne, & before þe world was made? Also god gyueþ frely his grace, not-wip-stondynge mannes lawe. whi may not god do grace to hise treue seruantes þat seruen him wele, al if þer were noo sicke prest nor pope? as sumtyme was non. (pp. 329-330)

Wyclif's objections to confession are many and varied, and his criticisms are, in the main, appeals to common sense in the guise of 'reson'. In the tract he is highly critical of confession under the control of the Church, and attempts to undermine the Church's (and the Pope's) power to regulate confession by invoking 'reson': 'þat iche man mut nedis shryeun oonys in þe 3er priuely to his propur prest, it semeþ opun a3ens reson.' He then goes on to cite examples from the bible, 'goddis lawe', which support his position. Confession 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe' is confession prior to the Church's control: 'Confessioun þat man makib of synne is made of man in two maners. Summe is mad oonly to god truly by



herte or moupe. And sum confessioun is made to man, and þat may be on many maneres: ouþer opynly & generally, as men confesseden in þe oolde lawe; Or priuely & rownyngly, as men confessen nowe-a-daies', (pp. 327-328). Needless to say Wyclif's sympathies lay with confession according to the old law and he is somewhat successful in establishing the paucity of biblical support for confession according to the new law. The thrust of his argument, of course, is directed toward those who would maintain that confession according to the new law (the Church) is the same as that according to 'goddis lawe'. He is quite explicit about the nature of confession 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe' in his conclusion to the tract:

& þus alle autoriteis þat ben founden in goddis lawe, þat techen þat men shulden shriue hem, ben to graunt to þis witt; þat men shulden shriue hem to god, and in case to her broþur, whenne it profitiþ to hem. but antecrist shulde shame here þat if men shulden þus shriue hem, þenne þei shulden telle þe emperour clerkis in her eeris alle her synnes, & do what þei bidden hem do, for ellis god wole not assoile hem. (p. 345)

The reading in Ed of 'aftir þe forme of goddis lawe' is an important qualification within the context of confession, and, as I have sought to illustrate above, it is one with Wycliffite connexions. If the phrase were in the common source of EdTCc then there were good doctrinal reasons, at the time of copying, for its deletion by different scribes working independently of each other. There are also good, if partisan, doctrinal reasons for its insertion by a heterodox scribe.

- 58 meynes. The sense implied here seems to be a theological one: 'þies meynes' are 'knowlecchyng of synnes to god and man', 'ful contricþen', and 'hole satisfaccion'; see O.E.D. s.v. Mean sb<sup>2</sup>. II. 10e. 'Means of grace (Theol.): the sacraments and other religious agencies viewed as the means by which divine grace is imparted to the soul, or by which growth in grace is promoted ...'. The earliest attestation of this sense is 1642.
- 67 The text of Cc does not end here: the addition is from the commentary on 'Lechery' in the tract The Seven Deadly Sins; for comparison, see the transcription of the Ed text, ff. 14<sup>v</sup> - 15<sup>r</sup>.

The additional text of Cc, p. 221:

& also preie god for grace to wiþstonde synne  
w<sup>t</sup> vertu, wich schal haue gret reward in tyme  
komyng, for vices and vertues mown not duellyn  
to gedere in a man, no more þan lyst & derkenes,  
hoot & cold; þerfore seiþ seynt poule þ<sup>t</sup> þer  
is non a cord be twen god and þe fend, ne bi  
twen paynemys & true cristenemen. Herfore do  
þ<sup>u</sup> cristenemenys werke, for ell[es] þ<sup>u</sup> art as  
fer from a cristeneman as a luscheburie is from  
a good peny, for þe name & þe tokene w<sup>t</sup> ousteforþ  
makip not þe þyng, but vertu w<sup>t</sup> inne & true  
worchyng. Hopest þ<sup>u</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> siche men louen god &  
seruyn hym þ<sup>t</sup> ben i-clepid cristenemen, & þei  
desiren hertly wordligoodis vn mesurablely &  
leuen after lust as þe world askep wete þ<sup>u</sup> weel  
þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> world is contrary to god, for god loueþ  
mekenesse & buxumnesse; þe world loueþ pride  
& rebelte. God wole pees & paciens, þe world  
strif and wrath; god wole mercy and charyte,  
þe world enuye & cruelte; god loueþ clenness  
& chastite, þe worlde hoorlotrie & foule  
lustis; god wole mesure & pouerte, þe worlde  
couetyse & auarice; god wole pena[un]ce &  
abstinence, þe worlde glotenye & drunkenesse &  
were is more contrariete & discord þanne here is  
schewed. Þerfore loue and worschepe þi god in  
kepyng besiliche his hestis, for þat is þe  
moste loue & worschepe þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> myst do to ihesu  
crist.

## Sources and Analogues

- 41 Cf. Osee x, 12-13:

12 Sow for yourselves in justice, and reap  
in the mouth of mercy, break up your fallow  
ground: but the time to seek the Lord is, when  
he shall come that shall teach you justice.

13 You have ploughed wickedness, you have  
reaped iniquity, you have eaten the fruit of  
lying: because thou hast trusted in thy ways,  
in the multitude of thy strong ones.

- 42 Cf. John viii, 24:

Therefore I said to you, that you shall die in  
your sins. For if you believe not that I am he,  
you shall die in your sin.

- 44 I have been unable to locate these references.

- 48 Cf. Wyclif's 'Augustinus', The English Works of  
Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, ed. F.D. Matthew E.E.T.S.  
O.S. lxxiv (1880), 281, three lines from the bottom:

Now is þe tyme of mercy to amende vs. 3it is  
not come þe tyme of iugement. we han space,  
we han place, we don synne, eke amende we oure  
giltis.

- 54 Cf. Wyclif's 'Nota de Confessione', The English Works  
of Wyclif ..., p. 329; for text and brief discussion  
of Wyclif's consideration of penance 'aftir þe forme  
of goddis lawe' see my note to line 55.

## The Manuscript Relationships of The Four Errors

The hitherto unedited tract *The Four Errors* survives in nine manuscripts; the eight in addition to E.U.L. MS. 93 (Ed), ff. 83<sup>v</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>, are:<sup>1</sup>

- (C<sub>1</sub>) C.U.L. MS. Fr. 6.55, ff. 168<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>v</sup>.
- (G) G.U.L. Hunterian MS. 520 (V.8.23), pp. 295-297.
- (H<sub>1</sub>) B.M. MS. Harley 2388, f. 36<sup>rv</sup>.
- (T) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R.3.21 (601), f. 17<sup>r</sup>.
- (G<sub>3</sub>) G.U.L. Hunterian MS. 512 (V.8.15), (unfoliated).
- (C) C.U.L. MS. Fr. 6.31 (S<sub>4</sub>), ff. 98<sup>v</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>.
- (D) Durham Dean and Chapter MS. A.IV.22, f. 149<sup>rv</sup>.
- (Sa) Society of Antiquaries MS. 300, ff. 99<sup>v</sup>-100<sup>r</sup>.

*The Four Errors*, while unedited, has received some attention from Dr. A.I. Doyle. In preliminary work on this tract Dr. Doyle noted the existence of different versions and placed Ed's text with those of C<sub>1</sub> and C.<sup>2</sup> This, as the following discussion shows, is not a completely accurate assessment. A detailed collation

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<sup>1</sup> For references to these manuscripts see 'Manuscripts: Descriptions and Notices'.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of 19 June 1949, and kept in Edinburgh University Library's Rare Books and Manuscripts Department's annotated copy of Catherine R. Horland's A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library.

the above manuscripts against the base text Ed reveals the following groups:

$$\text{I } [(Sa)(Ed:C_1:GH_1)(T)] \text{ II } [G_3C:D]$$

These Groups will be discussed separately and with comparison to Ed<sup>3</sup>, and there will be a short concluding section reviewing the findings of the individual studies.

$$\text{I } [(Sa)(Ed:C_1:GH_1)(T)]$$

The relationships between manuscripts in Group I are more complex than those of Group II, and as this complexity tends to obscure the relationships of all the manuscripts it is best that this complexity be dealt with first.

The above brackets and parentheses are used in an attempt to classify the manuscripts of Group I according to shared agreements between them and to point out what are, in essence, three different types of texts. The fact that Sa and T are substantially different texts is represented by placing them (in notation form) outside the text of  $EdC_1GH_1$  (which for the purposes of this discussion I call the 'core text'), but both Sa and T have more in common with this core text than with the kind of text

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<sup>3</sup> Throughout the discussion of the manuscript relationships the terms 'addition', 'omission', and 'substitution' are used purely to describe textual differences as they occur between Ed, and the other manuscripts which are compared to it. The text of Ed as a copy of The Four Errors is used as a base text of that tract, but the selection of the base text, in this edition, does not imply in any sense 'best text', or 'original text'.

represented by Group II. The following discussion is concerned with the textual relationships of Sa, for this text shares readings with manuscripts from both groups, and thus can be seen as a possible bridge between the two groups: moreover, the text of Sa may also be very close to the archetype of the tract. The textual relationships of  $\text{EdC}_1\text{GH}_1\text{T}$  will be discussed in a later section.

Sa is related, by shared variants, to (i) the core type text of  $\text{EdC}_1\text{GH}_1$  as well as to (ii) the Group II text, but (iii) because of unique additions, and its relationships with other texts, it represents, on the whole, an independent text within the Group I version.

(i) The closeness of Sa to the 'core type' of text is clearly illustrated by Sa's agreement with  $\text{EdC}_1\text{GH}_1\text{T}$  at lines 8. 11. 15, and 22-23: the Group I text does not begin the tract with a listing of the four errors; the Group II text does, (see discussion concerning this list and  $\text{G}_3\text{CD}$  below), nor does the Group I text introduce each error with the phrase 'As for...' as does the Group II text. In both respects Sa follows the Group I text in major readings, and in one other which may result from not listing the four errors:  $\text{SaEdC}_1\text{GH}_1\text{T}$  read 'and þerfore', lines 11 and 23. Sa also agrees with some or all Group I manuscripts in the following variants: Group I manuscripts read 'poule' for 'seynt poul', line 23, and they read 'origene' for 'þe greet clerk Origene', line 28.

(ii) However, Sa is not in every detail a Group I text, for it shares readings peculiar to the Group II manuscripts as well: for example, at line 5 SaG<sub>3</sub>C read 'he him' ['se him'D] for 'he himself' C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>T. At line 7 SaG<sub>3</sub>CD read 'esi & list' for 'esy' EdC<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>, and at line 6 SaG<sub>3</sub>CD omit 'pies'. However, these agreements between Sa and G<sub>3</sub>CD are not as significant as those that bind Sa to the Group I manuscript sand are more indicative of the complex and varied character of Sa than of a close textual connexion.

(iii) While the text of Sa is very close to the Group I text, it is also distinct from that text in the following readings: Sa cites all biblical and patristic sources within the text; C cites two within the text and the rest in the margin, and GG<sub>3</sub> cite the sources in the margin; the other manuscripts (with one exception)<sup>4</sup> do not cite the biblical and patristic sources at all. At line 23, Sa's full biblical citation appears within the text; GC's equally full citation appears in the margin. Sa, at line 38, omits the phrase 'acordyngly herto': all other manuscripts retain the phrase. There are two other minor

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<sup>4</sup> The cited sources of CH<sub>1</sub> are: line 28 'De grete clerk origene•super exodus 6c<sup>10</sup> 12c<sup>0</sup> seiyng', C; line 39 'crisostom seiþ•super lucam 16<sup>0</sup>'.C; and crystendom seyþ vp on luke þe xvi.c.', H<sub>1</sub>. See the discussion of GH<sub>1</sub> for importance of H<sub>1</sub>'s apparent slip, and notes to lines 28, 39.

variants which need noting: at line 16 SaC<sub>1</sub> read 'wherof' while EdGH<sub>1</sub>T read 'wherfore', and G<sub>3</sub>CD omit the word, but at line 9 SaGH<sub>1</sub>T read 'wherof' while EdC<sub>1</sub> read 'wherfore', and G<sub>3</sub>CD omit the word again; such variation is not convincing evidence for a close textual connexion. At line 49 SaGH<sub>1</sub> read 'wey is brood' and EdC<sub>1</sub>G<sub>3</sub>C read 'wey brode'. The variation between 'wey is brood' and 'wey brode' may well be attributable to the immediate source of SaGH<sub>1</sub> and its reliance on a variant text of the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible (hereafter cited as WBL); see, for example, the variants to WBL, Matt. viii, 13-14. However, with equal probability the variant may have been independently introduced.<sup>5</sup>

From the above discussion it is possible to characterize Sa as an essentially Group I text, both in structure and content, but one with one or two readings also found in the Group II text. Sa also preserves or contains unusually full (for a purely devotional tract) biblical

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<sup>5</sup> Given this particular variant (line 49) this seems a reasonable approach to take; however, the argument concerning Wycliffite biblical sources is more fully developed later in the discussion of EdC<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>, and in Appendix II with regard to C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>.



and patristic citations within the text; the same citations appear, however, in the margins of G and  $G_3C$  manuscripts from Groups I and II respectively. As Sa does not share variants indicative of any of the Group II manuscripts (substitutions or additions at lines 8, 11, 15, and 22-23; omissions at lines 11, 16, and 23), Sa does not descend from  $G_3CD$ . D can be excluded immediately for it omits lines 46-52, lines supplied by Sa.

Descent from  $GH_1T$  or the immediate source of this group is likewise ruled out, for these three manuscripts omit lines 13-15, 'for þe flesh couetith contrary to þe spirite & þe spirit to þe flesh', lines which are supplied by  $SaEdC_1G_3CD$ .  $GH_1T$  also add at line 22 'couetise which sum men couettyng erreden fro þe feip & bi settiden hem wiþ many sorowis'; this addition is not shared by  $SaEdC_1G_3CD$ . T, like D above, can be excluded for its omission of lines 46-52; T also has numerous unique additions, substitutions and omissions which not only separate it from Sa, but from the other manuscripts as well.

Descent from the remaining two manuscripts  $EdC_1$  is possible, though not probable; that the three manuscripts are closely related is well attested by the evidence above: the additions, omissions and substitutions that separate  $G_3CD$  and  $GH_1T$  from each other and  $SaEdC_1$  also reinforce the close textual connexion of Sa to  $EdC_1$ . The following

variants are illustrative of the range of agreements and disagreements between Sa, Ed and C<sub>1</sub>:<sup>6</sup>

Line(s)

5	Ed	hymself	C <sub>1</sub>	he himself	Sa	he him
6	Ed	errouris	C <sub>1</sub>	foure errouris	Sa	foure errours
11	Ed	secund	C <sub>1</sub>	secund errour	Sa	secunde errour
15	Ed	thrid	C <sub>1</sub>	bridde errour	Sa	bridde errour
7	Ed	esy	C <sub>1</sub>	esi	Sa	esi & list
9	Ed	wherfora	C <sub>1</sub>	wherfor	Sa	wherof
10	Ed	þis	C <sub>1</sub>	þis	Sa	þe
16	Ed	wherfore	C <sub>1</sub>	wherof	Sa	wherof
29	Ed	enformeth	C <sub>1</sub>	conformeþ	Sa	confermeþ
38	Ed	acordyngly herto	C <sub>1</sub>	acordingli herto	Sa	omitted
52-66	Ed	The... ende	C <sub>1</sub>	omitted	Sa	omitted

Of the above variants those at lines 5, 7, 10 and 38 are indicative of EdC<sub>1</sub>'s probable dependence upon the same immediate source; this dependence upon the same immediate source is not vitiated by C<sub>1</sub>'s apparent agreements with Sa. In every case in which C<sub>1</sub> agrees with Sa (and Ed disagrees) Ed's disagreements may be seen to have

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<sup>6</sup> The variants that follow are not peculiar to SaEdC<sub>1</sub> alone; for the purposes of the discussion I have thought it best to restrict the citing of variants and their manuscript to those under discussion. For a full listing of variant readings see the appropriate line in the variants.

been independently introduced. That is, Ed's variation can be explained without reference to Ed's immediate source: for example, in lines 5, 6, 11, and 15 Ed's omissions can be seen as prunings of the text of his immediate source; at line 29 the scribe of Ed has apparently misread 'co' as a two-compartmented 'e', producing 'enformeth hym to þe maners of þis world' for 'confermeþ him to þe maners of þis world', and the misreading makes sense as well.<sup>7</sup> SaC<sub>1</sub>'s omission (vis-a-vis Ed) of lines 52-66 is not, probably, an omission at all, for the scribe of Ed has added an extract from the WBL, I John ii, 15-17; no other texts have this addition. The only variant with any conjunctive and separative force is that at line 38; EdC<sub>1</sub>'s reading 'acordyngly herto' agrees with the reading in other manuscripts, and it is not likely to be introduced independently. Sa's omission of this phrase therefore disallows it as the possible immediate source for EdC<sub>1</sub>. This, however, is not presumptive evidence for Sa's independent textual status.

The most conclusive evidence for Sa's independent textual status is that of Sa's addition<sup>8</sup> of biblical and patristic citations within the text; Sa adds: line 9 'to þe romayns þe xii. chapitre'; line 12 'to þe romayns

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<sup>7</sup> See note to line 29.

<sup>8</sup> Sa's readings are additions when compared to the base text Ed. See fn. 3 above.

be xiii c<sup>o</sup>'; line 23 'to be Galatas be fifte chapetre & to be corenthies be tenbe chapitre'; line 27 'Super exodus vi. xii.'; and line 38 'Super lucam xvi. c<sup>o</sup>'. Ed and C<sub>1</sub> do not cite the precise sources of their biblical and patristic passages, and it does not seem likely that the scribe of Sa would pause each time he confronted 'saynt poule saith' or 'crisostom saith', put his quill down, locate the source, and then carefully add 'Galatas be fifte chapetre...'. Nor does it seem likely that the scribes of C<sub>1</sub> and Ed would be so flawless in their method as to avoid adding at least one biblical or patristic citation from an immediate source that had these as an integral part of the text.<sup>9</sup> It seems far more likely that the scribes of EdC<sub>1</sub> used a text more like that of G (with marginal citations) than that of Sa, if indeed the immediate source(s) of EdC<sub>1</sub> had citations at all. If the evidence of Sa's citations is allowed to stand, then it is highly probable that Sa is not a copy of EdC<sub>1</sub>, or their immediate source, yet it is also probable that Sa is very close to that source.

As has been shown above, various readings in Sa appear in widely differing manuscripts, but because of additions, omissions, and substitutions unique to these manuscripts, and thus not appearing in Sa, Sa does not depend upon them for its text. Sa, as is shown by the readings it shares with these same manuscripts, is nonetheless related to them, and it is possible that Sa is very close to the immediate sources of the two different groups. The relationship of Sa to the

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<sup>9</sup> H<sub>1</sub> at line 39 is not so flawless; see fn. 4 above, and note to line 39.

immediate sources of the two groups will be noted, but not focused on in the following discussions concerning the remaining manuscripts of Groups I and II.

### Group I $(Ed:C_1:GH_1)(T)$

All of the above Group I manuscripts, and their distinctive features, are noted in the above discussions, but with reference to Sa. The following discussion, while being repetitious in some respects, is a systematic account of (i) the distinctive feature of Dd; (ii) the share character of  $EdC_1$ ; (iii) the shared character of  $GH_1(T)$ , and (iv) the distinctive features of G,  $H_1$ , and T. The distinctive features of  $C_1$  have been discussed above with regard to Ed and Sa, and a separate section will not be devoted to a recapitulation of what are, in effect, minor variants with little separative or conjunctive force. The relationships of  $C_1$  to Ed and G will be covered, however, in the discussions of topics (i), (ii) and (iii). For brevity and clarity topics (ii) (the shared character of  $EdC_1$ ) and (iii) (the shared character of  $GH_1(T)$ ) will be discussed together: by contrasting the manuscript sub-groups the shared character of ~~each~~ sub-group will become apparent.

#### (i) The distinctive features of Ed.

For the most part, Ed and  $C_1$  form a close textual group; the variants of  $EdC_1$  and Sa listed above illustrate the kinds of readings shared by  $EdC_1$ . However, Ed and  $C_1$  disagree in the following:

## Significant omissions.

lines 50-51 Ed And how streyt is þe  
yate and narow þe wey þat

C<sub>1</sub>G And hou strait is þe  
gate & narow þat.

The omission of 'þe wey' is unique to C<sub>1</sub>G. Ed and SaG<sub>3</sub>C follow, verbatim, the Earlier and Later Versions of the WB, Matt. vii. 13-14. Forshall and Madden list no variants to support C<sub>1</sub>G's omission: that is, the omission in C<sub>1</sub>G is probably not a scribal correction ~~stemming~~ from access to a WB. The omission could have been independently introduced by two separate scribes who found 'þe wey' in this context redundant, for 'gate' to them may have also meant 'A way' (see O.E.D. s.v. Gate sb<sup>2</sup>.I), and 'narow' was taken by these scribes, to modify 'þe yate'.

lines 52-66 Ed

The brode wey is lustis of þis world, whom men  
couetith. The streyt þat is, whiche is shewid by  
traualis and fastynges, into whiche þe apostelis  
entred, and þerfore þe apostle saith: Nil ye loue  
þe world, neiþer þe thynges þat bene in þe world,  
for who euer loueth þe world þe charite of þe fadre  
is not in hym, for why all thyng þat is in þe world  
is couetise of ey, lust of flesh & pryde of life,  
whiche is not of þe fadre but of þe world, and  
þe world shal passe and þe couetise of it. Forsothe  
who þat doith þe wil of god dwellith  
withouten ende.

C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSaG<sub>3</sub>CD omitted.

Substitution: line 4 Ed holy writ

C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSaG<sub>3</sub>CD goddis lawe.

Because of the Lollard connotations of 'goddis lawe',<sup>10</sup> the scribe of Ed, perhaps to avoid the obvious taint of heterodoxy, substituted less contentious words for holy scripture. This, however, is conjectural: heterodoxy in this case may not hinge on the substitution of the two words.

The Edinburgh text's 'interesting addition',<sup>11</sup> (lines 52-66) makes it unique among surviving manuscripts of The Four Errors, with the bulk of the addition from 'Nil', line 57, to 'ende', line 66, being an accurate rendering of I John ii, 15-17 from the Earlier Version of the WB (hereafter cited as WBE).<sup>12</sup> Clearly, either the scribe of Ed or the scribe of Ed's immediate source had a Wycliffite biblical version to hand. Dependence upon a Wycliffite biblical source is not peculiar to Ed; as the

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<sup>10</sup> See Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), 358: 'The "law of Christ", an "Goddis lawe" were still (1428) the ordinary Lollard terms for the New Testament and the Bible'. For a fuller discussion of this term, and its implications, see note to line 4.

<sup>11</sup> Doyle, letter of 19 June 1979.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Doyle did not note the Wycliffite source for the addition; for the Earlier Version passage see note to lines 52-66.

following variants, and WB passages show,  $GH_1(T)$  have scrupulously followed the same source.

(ii) The shared character of  $EdC_1$ , and (iii) the shared character of  $GH_1(T)$ .

The only significant addition is that of lines 21-22:

$EdC_1$  for þe rote of all yuelis is couetyse

$GH_1$  for þe rote of alle yuelis is couetyse which sum  
men couettyng erreden fro þe feip & bi settiden  
hem wiþ many sorowis

T ffor the rote of euellys ys couetyse whyche sum  
men couetyng errydyn w<sup>t</sup> many sorowys

WBL For the rote of alle yuelis is coueytise, which  
summen coueitinge erriden fro the feith, and  
bisettiden hem with many sorewis. (I Tim.vi.10)

The only significant omission occurs in lines 12-15:

$EdC_1$  poule saith: Do se not þe bisones of your flesh  
in desires, for þe flesh couetith contrary to þe  
spirite & þe spirit to þe flesh

$GH_1(T)$  poul seiþ Do se not þe bizines of soure fleisch  
in desires

FBL and do se not the bisynesse of [soure]\*fleisch in  
desiris. (Rom. xiii, 14)

$GH_1(T)$ 's addition and omission are shared by no other manuscripts, and in both instances  $GH_1(T)$  have followed a Wycliffite biblical source.  $EdC_1$  (along with  $SA G_3 CD$ ) have, on the other hand, departed from that source: at

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\* Forshall and Madden cite 'soure flesch' as a variant in one other manuscript.



or have used different recensions of the WB.

(iv) The distinctive features of G, H<sub>1</sub>, and T.

The shared variants of GH<sub>1</sub>(T) have been set out above, and for G those variants must constitute its distinctive features. Save for one minor addition 'but fewe' for 'few', at line 52, G has no unique additions, omissions, or substitutions, so there is little that distinguishes it from the manuscripts to which it is related. However, there are unique additions, omissions, and substitutions in H<sub>1</sub> and T, and these variants exclude these manuscripts from consideration as possible immediate sources for any of the extant manuscripts.

The distinctive features of H<sub>1</sub>.

Addition: line 39 H<sub>1</sub> adds (with G<sub>3</sub>C, and minor variation)

'crystendom seyþ vp on luke þe.xvi. c<sup>o</sup>.'

Omission: line 20 H<sub>1</sub> omits 'men'.

Substitutions: line 39 H<sub>1</sub> substitutes 'crystendom' for 'crisostom'.

line 41 H<sub>1</sub> substitutes 'conforsip' for 'enforsith'.

Word Order: line 51 H<sub>1</sub> reads '& þe weye narrow' for 'and narrow þe wey'.

The manuscript to which H<sub>1</sub> is most closely related, G, omits the phrase 'þe wey', line 51. If G, or a G-like manuscript, were the immediate source for H<sub>1</sub> then the phrase 'þe weye' may have been supplied by conjecture, or by reference to a Wycliffite biblical version. The reverse -- that G copied from H<sub>1</sub> -- does not seem likely, for the

scribe of G is meticulous in his marginal citations of biblical and patristic sources, and at line 39 writes 'crisostom', and refers in the margin to Luke 16. The ascription in  $H_1$  to 'crystandom seyþ vp on luke þe.xvi. c.<sup>o</sup>' is the only biblical or patristic citation in  $H_1$ , and the scribe of G (like the hypothetical scribe of Sa) is not likely to identify sources while engaged in copying a text. The fact that  $H_1$ 's only biblical citation is within the text (rather than in the margin) seems to point toward an immediate source that also contains its citations within the text. The existence of such a source would explain  $GH_1$ 's close textual resemblance as well as the inconsistencies in their respective biblical and patristic citations: the scribe of G would have a fully annotated text to work from; thus he could copy the text while citing the source in the margin; the scribe of  $H_1$  would be able to copy his text and, save for the one instance, avoid copying the biblical and patristic citations.

The distinctive features of T.

T is riddled with unique additions, omissions and substitutions, but is, nonetheless, firmly within the Group I tradition, and in the major addition and omission noted in the discussion of topics (ii) and (iii) above it is also closely related to  $GH_1$ .

Unique additions: line(s) Ed holy writ

T goddys lawe or any trefyse  
grounded in goddes lawe

- 5 Ed vndirstonde  
     T vndyrstand or to do
- 7 Ed esy  
     T esy and gracyous
- 8 Ed vndirstonde  
     T vndyrstand and do
- 17 Ed fallen  
     T ffall they nat
- 43 Ed iniuryes  
     T iniuryes or wronges
- 45 Ed life  
     T lyfe in w<sup>t</sup> standyng the menynges of  
         hys iij enemyes.

Unique omissions: T omits 'all', line 21; 'of trewth', line 38, and, with D (to which it is not otherwise connected), lines 46-52 (66 in Ed): 'And þerfore crist saith...þat fynden it', (line 52), and in Ed to line 66, ending 'withouten ende'. The independent omission of lines 46-52 (66) in T and D is understandable, for the omitted portion is a biblical passage which, while pointing out that the gate is straight and the way narrow, also softens the fairly uncompromising ending of the discursive section: 'And ouer þis who euer lyueth not here a sharp life, it is vnpossible hym to be saued'.

Unique substitutions: T substitutes 'wyll ye nat be' for 'nyle ye be', line 10; 'ye' for 'we', line 24, and 'wordys' for 'menys', line 34.

lines 21-22  $\text{EdC}_1\text{SaG}_3\text{CD}$  have omitted a significant portion of the biblical text, and at lines 13-15 the same manuscripts have added to the biblical text. The addition and omission in  $\text{GH}_1(\text{T})$  separate these manuscripts from  $\text{EdC}_1$ <sup>13</sup>, and point toward an immediate source distinct from that used by  $\text{EdC}_1$ .

That  $\text{GH}_1$  probably shared the same immediate source is evident if the variants from another, and longer tract are studied:  $\text{C}_1\text{GH}_1$  are the only surviving manuscripts which have both The Four Errors and The Three Arrows.<sup>14</sup> The three manuscripts also agree in additions, omissions, and substitutions against all other manuscripts containing The Three Arrows, and in those variants  $\text{C}_1\text{GH}_1$  form a separate version. However, as in The Four Errors, there are differences within the same version, and, as in The Four Errors,  $\text{GH}_1$  agree in certain kinds of variation against  $\text{C}_1$ . The conclusions in The Three Arrows appendix are that (i)  $\text{C}_1\text{GH}_1$  are probably derived from the same immediate source, a source distinct from the immediate sources of the other versions, and that (ii) because of readings unique to  $\text{GH}_1$ ,  $\text{C}_1$  and  $\text{GH}_1$  may well have used different exemplars,

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<sup>13</sup> The distinct character of Sa has already been established; the discussion of  $\text{G}_3\text{CD}$  (Group II), which follows in a different section, will cover the variants that make these manuscripts distinct from those of Group I.

<sup>14</sup> See Appendix II.

As the additions and substitutions suggest, T's various alterations are expansions of the senses of the words; the scribe of T wants to make explicit what is implicit: the reader is not only to 'vndirstonde' but to 'vndyrstande and do'. Its abbreviated ending reinforces this: 'And ouer thys whoeuer lyueth nat here a sharpe lyfe in w<sup>t</sup>standyng the menynges of hys iij enemyes hyt ys irpossibyll hym to be sauyd.'

## II [ $G_3C:D$ ]

The manuscript relationships of Group II are less complex than those of Group I. The distinctive features of  $G_3CD$  are, in the main, shared as opposed to individual features, and this, in itself, makes the discussion of variants a simpler task. The following exposition of significant additions, substitutions, and omissions will establish (i) the independent character of  $G_3C:D$ , and (ii)  $G_3C$ 's probable dependence upon the same immediate source. As the discussion will show, much of the evidence for (ii) is contained within (i).

(i) The independent character of  $G_3C(D)$ .

Significant additions and substitutions.

line(s)

8    Ed    The first errour is worldely maner,  
          wherfore saynt poule saith

$G_3CD$     þe firste errour is worldly maner

The secunde errour is fleischly lust  
 The bridde errour is fals coueitise  
 And þe fourþe is veynglorie. As for þe  
 firste seynt poul seiþ

28 Ed Origene

G<sub>3</sub>CD þe greet 'cl rk' Ori ene.

The addition at line 8 is interesting, mainly for the substitutions which seem to follow from it: for example, at line 8 where EdC<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TS read 'The first errour is' G<sub>3</sub>CD substitute 'As for þe firste', and again at line 11 'The second is' becomes in G<sub>3</sub>CD 'As for þe secunde', and similarly at line 15 for 'The thrid is' G<sub>3</sub>CD read 'As for þe bridde', and finally at lines 22-23 'The fourth errour is' becomes in G<sub>3</sub>C 'And as for þe fourþe' (and in D 'And as to þe fourþe'). An addition like that at line 8 and the substitutions that follow it are not the result of independent coincident variation, and are probably derived from the same immediate source; this is almost certainly true of the full citation of the auctor, 'þe greet clerk Origene', at line 28. The close textual relationship of G<sub>3</sub>C is also affirmed, for both manuscripts cite not only 'þe greet clerk Origene' but add 'super exodus 6.<sup>o</sup> 12.<sup>o</sup>'; G<sub>3</sub> does so in the margin, while C adds it in the text. Only two other manuscripts (Sa and G) give the scriptural citation, but they represent a different textual tradition. There are three more additions worth noting: at line 7, G<sub>3</sub>CDSa read 'esy list' instead of 'esy'; at line 23 where G<sub>3</sub>CD read

'seynt poul' for 'poule', and, at line 39,  $G_3$ CD read 'who so euere' where  $EdC_1GSaH_1T$  read 'who euer'.

Substitutions. There is only one significant substitution shared by  $G_3$ CD: they read 'to stonde' while  $EdC_1GSaH_1T$  read 'þat he stondyth', line 26.  $EdC_1GSaH_1T$ 's reading is attested to by the majority of manuscripts in the WBL (I Cor. x, 12);  $G_3$ CD's reading is cited as extant in one other manuscript.

#### Significant omissions.

The omissions also seem to be derived from the same immediate source; for example,  $G_3$ CD omit 'wherfore', lines 9, 16, 'and þerfore', lines 11, 23. These omissions, like the addition at line 8, may be seen as minor adjustments to the text. There are other less significant omissions:  $G_3$ CD omit 'þe', line 20, and 'þus', line 28, while  $G_3C$  omit 'þe', line 18, and  $G_3CbSa$  omit 'þies', line 6.

(11)  $G_3C$ 's dependence upon the same immediate source.

It is clear, then, that  $G_3$ CD are very closely related, and it has been suggested that they are derived from the same immediate source. The possibility exists, in theory, that one of the manuscripts  $G_3$ , C, or D is the immediate source; however, D can be excluded from consideration as it omits lines 46-52,<sup>15</sup> lines supplied

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<sup>15</sup>D shares this abbreviated ending with T, but since this is the only significant variant shared by them, and since both texts represent different versions, the shared omission cannot be the result of one copying from the other. As suggested in the discussion concerning T's similar omission, the abbreviated ending has its uses, for it forces the reader to meditate on the words (in D) '¶ ouer þis who euer lyueþ not here a scharp liyf it is vnpossible hym to be saued'. For a tract dealing with the four errors of evil living the above is an appropriate ending.

by  $G_3C$ , and lines not likely to be added independently by two different scribes. The same can be said for the occurrence of identical biblical and patristic citations:  $G_3C$  are not likely to supply these independently. It is not possible to assign priority to  $G_3$  or  $C$ , for neither possesses unique additions, omissions, substitutions or any other type of scribal variation that will allow  $C$  to descend from  $G_3$ , or  $G_3$  to descend from  $C$ . In the absence of such conjunctive and separative variants (or errors), I have preferred descent from the same immediate source as the most probable explanation for the consistency of their shared variation.

A review of the manuscript relationships of The Four Errors.

Using scribal variation in addition, omission, and substitution the texts of The Four Errors can be divided into two separate groups: Group I is composed of manuscripts  $SaEdC_1GH_1T$ , and Group II is composed of manuscripts  $G_3CD$ .

These groups can, in turn, be subdivided:

(1)  $Sa$  agrees, on the whole, with the other manuscripts of Group I, but it is, because of unique readings, distinct from them. The possibility exists that  $Sa$  is very close to the archetype, as well as the immediate source(s), of the Group I texts of The Four Errors, for it, like the putative immediate source, has full intertextual biblical and patristic references. It has been



suggested that such a text would have been needed to account for  $GH_1$ 's close textual resemblance (both with regard to the text proper, and the biblical and patristic citations). A text similar to Sa in biblical and patristic citations may also have been the immediate source for  $G_3C$ .

(ii)  $EdC_1$  tend to agree against other manuscripts within Group I, and thus are grouped together; however, Ed's text is, in parts, a much-pruned version of  $C_1$ ; Ed also adds 14 lines, much of it from the WBL.  $C_1$ , in some respects, is very close to G; they, in fact, share the same version of another tract The Three Arrows. While the scribal variation in this shared tract confirms their probable dependence upon a shared common source, it does not confirm that  $C_1G$  shared the same immediate source.

(iii)  $GH_1T$  tend to agree against all other manuscripts. Because of unique additions, omissions and substitutions T can be separated from  $GH_1$ .  $GH_1$  are textually very close, so close in fact as to have possibly used the same immediate source. G's readings are, however, more accurate, and the text of G has full marginal citations of biblical and patristic sources. Detailed collations of  $GH_1$  using the shared treatise The Three Arrows show that  $GH_1$ , for that treatise, probably used the same immediate source also.

(iv)  $G_3CD$  form a tight textual group that is distinct in both the structure of the tract itself and in specific readings. However, D ends imperfectly and

for that reason, and for other minor textual inconsistencies, D's text is distinct from the texts of  $G_3C$ . It is not possible to assign textual priority to  $G_3$  or C, but it is assumed that both manuscripts probably descend from the same immediate source which in its manner of citing biblical and patristic sources resembles Sa.

This study has been concerned with the textual relationships of the extant manuscripts of The Four Errors, and primarily the relationships of those manuscripts in two's and three's, the 'twigs' of the tree. It has not been the object of this study to establish a manuscript tree, a stemma, though much of the material for such a tree is provided. There are certain problems or obstacles inherent in establishing a tree for The Four Errors.

First, the rich vein of separative and conjunctive variation is exhausted once the major groups have been established. This is compounded by the relative shortness of the text -- 46-56 lines (52 in most cases) -- thus there is not enough text rich enough in variation to allow one to discern a pattern of conjunctive and cumulative variation. In longer tracts, The Stathel of Sin for example, this pattern of conjunctive and cumulative variation is important, for it supports and strengthens what would be, in a shorter text, a tenuous link. One way out of this dilemma is to isolate other tracts and treatises that co-occur with a shorter text. For

The Four Errors and specifically for Group I texts, The Three Arrows can be invaluable in providing much needed confirmation of a suspected pattern of variation. More work, however, is needed on The Three Arrows and its different versions before any conclusive evidence can be advanced with regard to the textual relations of its sometime companion tract The Four Errors.

Second, a study of the dialectal relationships of The Four Errors, The Three Arrows and The Mirror of Sinners would be useful in clarifying murky textual relationships,<sup>16</sup> but this would be a large undertaking in itself, one that would involve a detailed study of the dialect of the Central and Central-West Midland counties. The present study has been confined to solving the first problem, and has suggested the shape the branch ought to have, given the surviving 'twigs'. The second problem, while beyond the scope of this study, is nevertheless an important one, and one that will have to be solved before a definitive stemma can be established.

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<sup>16</sup> Professor Angus McIntosh's article 'Two Unnoticed Interpolations in Four Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience', N.M. lxxvii (1976), 63-78, provides a useful demonstration of the relevance dialectal factors may sometimes have to textual problems.

- 1 Here sueth ... lyuyng (1. 2)] & now sueþ next a  
treijs of foure errours Sa; Marke wel þees foure  
errours whiche letten þe verrey knowyng of holy writt  
C; Here sueþ a short tretis of iiij errours þ<sup>t</sup> lettþ  
man to haue trew vndirstondyng of holy scripture H<sub>1</sub>;  
om. C<sub>1</sub>GG<sub>3</sub>DT.
- 4 holy writ] goddis lawe C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>SaG<sub>3</sub>CD; goddys lawe or  
any trefte groundyd in goddes lawe T. heuy] heuy to  
him C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>G<sub>3</sub>CD.
- 5 to] forto C<sub>1</sub>G. vndirstonde] vndyrstand or to do T.  
pouge] bisie D. hym silf] he himsilf C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>T; he him  
SaG<sub>3</sub>C; se him D.
- 6 þies] om. SaG<sub>3</sub>CD. errouris] foure errouris C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSaG<sub>3</sub>  
CD.
- 7 esy] MS. Xesy; esi & list SaG<sub>3</sub>CD; esy and gracyous  
T.
- 8 vndirstonde] vndyrstand and do T; vndirstonde. þe  
firste errour is worldly maner. The secunde errour is  
fleischly lust. The þridde errour is fals couetise.  
And [om. D] þe fourþe is veynglorie G<sub>3</sub>CD. The ...  
wherfore (1. 9)] As for þe firste G<sub>3</sub>CD.
- 9 wherfore] wherof GH<sub>1</sub>TSa. saith] seiþ to þe romayns  
þe xii. chapitre Sa. Marginalium: Romanos 12<sup>o</sup>. CG.
- 10 nyle ye be] wyll ye nat be T. þis] þe Sa.
- 11 The ... þerfore] As for þe secunde G<sub>3</sub>CD. secund]  
secund errour C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSa.
- 12 saith] seiþ to þe romayns þe xiii. c<sup>o</sup>. Sa. Marginalium:  
Romanos xiii<sup>o</sup>, Galatas 5 c<sup>o</sup> C; Romanos 13 G.
- 13 for ... flesh] om. GH<sub>1</sub>T.
- 15 The ... wherfore (1. 16)] As for þe þridde G<sub>3</sub>CD. thrid]  
þridde errour C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSa.
- 16 wherfore] wherof C<sub>1</sub>Sa. saith] seiþ to þe firste  
tymothe þe vi. c<sup>o</sup>. Sa. þat] om. H<sub>1</sub>. Marginalium: Prima  
Thimotheum 6 c<sup>o</sup> CG<sub>3</sub>; 1 Tymotheum [6] G.
- 17 fallen] ffall they nat T.
- 18 in to] to D. þe snare] snare G<sub>3</sub>CSa.
- 19 and noyous desirys] desires & noious GH<sub>1</sub>TD.
- 20 þe] om. G<sub>3</sub>CD. men] om. H<sub>1</sub>.
- 21 and] in to D.

Here sueth þe

[f. 83<sup>v</sup>]

foure errouri of yuel lyuyng .

5     |     ff e y man semyth eny prte  
       |     of holy writ hard or h uy  
       |     to vndirsto e, poir e hym  
       |     silf of þies errouris þat s n and no  
       |     doute it shalbe ful esy to c nseyue  
       |     & vndirstonde. The first errour is worl-

10     |     dely maner, wherfore saynt poule saith:     [f. 84<sup>r</sup>]

      |     nyle ye be conformed to þis world.  
       |     The secund is fleshly lust, and þerfore  
       |     poule saith: Do ȝe not þe bisenes of  
       |     your flesh in desires, for þe flesh coue-  
       |     tith contrary to þe spirite & þe spirit  
       |     15     to þe flesh. The thrid is fals couetyse  
       |     wherfore poule saith: þei þat wole be  
       |     mayde ryche fallen in to temptacion  
       |     and in to þe snare of þe deuel and in  
       |     to many vnprofitable and noyous de-  
       |     20     sirys þe whiche drenchen men in to  
       |     dethe and perdicion, for þe rote of all

- 22 The ... perfore (1. 23)] And as for þe fourþe CG<sub>3</sub>D. couetyse] couetise which sum men couettyng erreden fro þe feiþ & bi settiden hem wiþ many sorowis GH<sub>1</sub>; couetyse whyche sum men couetyng erredyn w<sup>t</sup> many sorowys T.
- 23 poule] seynt poul G<sub>3</sub>CD. saith] seiþ to þe Galatas þe fifþe chapetre & to þe corenthies þe tenþe chapitre Sa. Marginalium: Galatas 5 c<sup>o</sup>, Corinthis 10<sup>o</sup> CG; 1 Corinthis 10 G<sub>3</sub>.
- 24 we] ye T. couetouse] 'coueitous' C<sub>1</sub>.
- 25 þat he stondyth (1. 26)] to stonde G<sub>3</sub>CD.
- 27 not] not. Super exodus 6. xii Sa. þies] þe G. Marginalium: super exodus 6 c<sup>o</sup>, 12 c<sup>o</sup> G<sub>3</sub>C.
- 28 origene] þe greet clerk origene DG<sub>3</sub>; þe grete clerk Origene super exodus 6 c<sup>o</sup>, 12 c<sup>o</sup>. C. þus] om. G<sub>3</sub>CD. who so euer (1. 29)] whoeuer GH<sub>1</sub>T.
- 29 enformeth] conformeþ C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSaG<sub>3</sub>CD. þis] þe C<sub>1</sub>.
- 30 Eythyr] or CD.
- 31 his] his his H<sub>1</sub>.
- 32 Eiber] or CD. euer] om. H<sub>1</sub> bisieth hym] MS. bisieth hym bisieth hym.
- 34 menys] wordys T. eibir] or C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSaG<sub>3</sub>C; om. D.
- 35 euer] 'euer' H<sub>1</sub>. voidith] a voidiþ D.
- 37 he] om. D. trew] tr'e'we C<sub>1</sub>.
- 38 of trewth] om. T. And acordyngly herto] om. Sa.
- 39 Crisostom saith] Super lucam. xvj. c<sup>o</sup> and crisostum seiþ Sa; crisostom seiþ. super lucam 16<sup>o</sup> C; crystendom seyþ vp on luke þe. xvi. c<sup>o</sup>. H<sub>1</sub>. Marginalium: Super lucam 16 G<sub>3</sub>; [lu]cam 16 c<sup>o</sup> [margin shaved] G. who euer] who so euere G<sub>3</sub>CD. restreyneth] re ... neþ C<sub>1</sub>. medial letters obliterated.
- 40 Eiber who euer (1. 41)] 'Eiber who euere' G<sub>3</sub>.
- 41 enforsith] conforsiþ H<sub>1</sub>. hym] 'him' Sa.
- 42 monynges] menyngis G. Eiber] or CD.
- 43 not] 'not' C<sub>1</sub>. all] 'alle' H<sub>1</sub>. iniuryes] þe iniuries C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>TSaG<sub>3</sub>CD; iniuryes or wronges T.

yuelis is couetyse. The fourth errour  
 is veyn glorie, and þerfore poule saith:  
 Be we not mayde couetouse of veyn  
 25 glorie, for he þat gessith hym silf þat  
 he stondyth, be he wayre þat he falle  
 not. Of þe malice of þies .iiij. errouris  
 spekith origene seyyng bus: who so  
euere enformeth hym to þe maners of þis  
 30 world; Eythyr who euere enforsith hym  
 not faithefully to restreyne his fleshly  
 lustys; Eiþer who euere bisieþ hym [f. 84<sup>v</sup>]  
 to geit worldely goodis with vn-  
 iust menyngs, eiþir in vndew tyme; Ei-  
 35 þir who euere voidith not fro hym all veyn  
 glorie, he is seruaunt to vices & traitour  
 to god & he shal neuer haue trew vn-  
 dirstondyng of trewth. And acordyngly  
 herto Crisostom saith: who euere restrey-  
 40 neth not þe malice of his hert; Eiþer who  
euere enforsith hym not bisily to ayensay  
 his fleshly monynges; Eiþer who euere of  
 all his hert foryeueth not all iniuries þat

- 45 life] lyfe in w<sup>t</sup>standyng the menynges of hys iij  
 enemyes T.
- 46 And ... ende (1. 66)] om. DT.
- 49 wey brode] wele is brood GH<sub>1</sub>Sa.
- 50 And] om. GH<sub>1</sub>.
- 51 and narrow þe wey] & þe weye narrow H<sub>1</sub>. þe wey] om.  
 C<sub>1</sub>G.
- 52 few] but fewe G. The ... ende (1. 66)] om. C<sub>1</sub>GH<sub>1</sub>SaG<sub>3</sub>C.



bene done to hym; And ouer þis, who euer  
 45 lyueth not here a sharp life, it is vn-  
 possible hym to be saued. And þerfore  
 crist saith: stryue ye to entre by þe strate-  
 yate, for þe yate þat ledith to perdition  
 is large & þe wey brode, and þerbene ma-  
 50 ny þat entren by it; And how streyt is  
 þe yate and narrow þe wey þat ledith  
 to life & þerbene few þat fynden it. The  
 brode wey is lustis of þis world, whom  
 men couetith. The streyt þat is, whiche [f. 85r]  
 55 is shewid by trauails and fastynges, in  
 to whiche þe apostelis entred, and þer-  
 fore þe apostle saith: Nil ye loue þe wor-  
 ld, neiþer þe thynges þat bene in þe world,  
 for who euer loueth þe world, þe charite  
 60 of þe fadre is not in hym, for why all  
 thynges þat is in þe world is couetise  
 of ey, lust of flesh & pryde of life, whiche  
 is not of þe fadre but of þe world, and  
 þe world shal passe and þe couetise of it.  
 65 Forsothe who þat doith þe wil of god  
 dwellith withouten ende.

## Notes

- 1 Here sueth þe foure errouris of yuel lyuynge (line 2). The Four Errors, as it appears in C.U.L. MS. Ff. 6.31 (§ 4) is, according to Deanesly, a Lollard tract: 'The MS. contains also another Lollard tract on the "Four errors which letten the very knowing of holy writ"', and 'the hand of these tracts [there are four other tracts in this section of Ff. 6.31] is c. 130-1400', The Lollard i l, p. 445. This determination is perhaps circumstantial, for The Four Errors is part of a manuscript which includes a tract assigned, provisionally, to Wyclif - 'The holy rolet david saith'. Deanesly's attribution of this latter tract to Wyclif (p. 446) is by no means certain, see The Lollard Bible, pp. 241, fn. 4, and pp. 268-70.  
Deanesly's introduction to her edition of 'The holy prophet david saith', The Lollard Bible, pp. 445-46, is not altogether accurate: she observes that the tract 'is followed in the MS. by four other Lollard tracts, which all each other with the incipit, explicit or title, and give the appearance at first of forming a little treatise ...'; she then goes on to note four tracts, but includes 'The holy prophet ...' as one of the four tracts which follows itself. There are indeed, four tracts which follow 'The holy prophet', the fourth being without title and beginning 'Also mathu seiþ in þe same schapitle', ff. 38<sup>r</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>. Two tracts have incipits: 'Meekness', ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup> begins 'Now here it is to be holde wiþ bisy sowle þe profite þat n schal have ...', and this tract is followed, as Deanesly notes, with 'Here sueþ þe seiyngis of dyuers doctoris vpe e xxvi capetil of Matthu ...', f. 27<sup>v</sup>. The texts of all five tracts begin with two or three-line ornamental initials. It is fairly clear that the rubrics and initials set off the various tract from each other. The other tracts noted by Deanesly above warrant, if only for the variety of their sources -- 'dyuers doctoris' -- closer attention.
- 4 Ed's reading 'holy writ' may be a conscious substitution for 'god is lawe' of the putative immediate source. The term 'goddis lawe', to be sure, is not unusual in Ed's a whole, but in Ed 'goddis lawe' is used, with three exceptions, to refer to the precepts and commandments of God, and not the Bible, or holy scripture as such. The Dd scribe's terms for the Bible are: 'goddis word(es)', ff. 16<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>, 63<sup>v</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup>; 'word of god', 59<sup>v</sup>; 'holy writ' 63<sup>r</sup>, 73<sup>v</sup>, 83<sup>v</sup>, 85<sup>v</sup>, 90<sup>r</sup>; 'holy scripture' 63<sup>r</sup>, and 'holy bokis' 73<sup>v</sup>. The three exceptions

where 'goddis lawe' is used to mean the Bible occur, interestingly enough, in *The Eight Blessings of Christ*, on f. 25<sup>rv</sup> (this is sermon 123 of the Wycliffite '*Proprium Sanctorum*' printed by Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, pp. 406-12). Of this sermon, and the general contents of Ed, Anne Hudson notes: 'The other items of this manuscript are orthodox, but the text of the sermon, even including the final, and typically Lollard, reference to true men standing against Antichrist, is unexpurgated.' *Medium Aevum* xl (1971), 153, fn. 8. The Ed text is, however, a much shortened version of the Wycliffite sermon. No attempt was made by the Ed scribe to filter out 'goddis lawe' or other Lollard terms in *The Eight Blessings of Christ*, but it is clear from the evidence of the other tracts that 'goddis lawe' is not the Ed scribe's preferred term for the Bible, though the term is admissible for particular precepts, commandments and injunctions of God. As Deanesly has noted (p. 227, fn. 1) F. Wiegand in *De Ecclesiae Notione quid Wiclif docuerit*, Leipzig (1891), 58 draws attention to Wyclif's 'use of *lex Dei* absolutely as a term for the Bible.' I quote from Wiegand's text: '*Legem Dei quae nihil aliud sit nisi scriptura sacra illo nomine ob id appellari, quod a Deo data eiusque testamentum infringibile sit nec a Deo separari possit.*'

- 12 C's citation of Gal. 5 is unique among the extant manuscripts of *The Four Errors*, and may well be indicative of the fuller biblical and patristic citations of the putative immediate source of G<sub>3</sub>C(D). See also notes to lines 28 and 39.
- 16 G's chapter number ([6]) is not very clear on the microfilm or the photograph.
- 16 *pei þat wole ... couetyse* (line 22). This passage in Ed (see edited text) should be compared with the WBL and the same passage in GH<sub>1</sub>(T); for T's close but divergent readings see variants.

WBL, I Tim. vi, 9-10: For thei that wolen be maad riche, fallen in to temptacioun, and in to snare of the deuel, and in to many vnprofitable desiris and noyous, whiche drenchen men in to deth and perdicoun. For the rote of alle yuelis is coueytise, which summen coueitinge erriden fro the feith, and bisettiden hem with many sorewis.

GH<sub>1</sub>: *pei þat [om. H<sub>1</sub>] wolen be maad riche fallen in to temptacion and in to þe snare of þe deuyl, and in to many vnprofitable desires & noious þe whiche drenchen men [om. H<sub>1</sub>] in to deop &*

perdicoun, for þe rote of alle yuelis is couetise  
which sum men coueityng erreden fro þe feiþ & bi  
settiden hem wiþ many sorowis.

GH<sub>1</sub> follow the Wycliffite biblical text more  
closely, and at greater length, than do any of the  
other manuscripts, but the difference is purely one  
of degree. It is evident that at some stage in the  
composition or transmission of The Four Errors a  
Wycliffite biblical version was used, and that at  
another stage (prior to or at the copying of GH<sub>1</sub>)  
a Wycliffite biblical text was consulted, and  
different material added, added, that is, in  
comparison with the other manuscripts.

- 28 C's citation of the patristic source within the text  
is indicative, perhaps, of the kind of text used as  
an exemplar by the scribe of C: in C the biblical  
passages are noted in the margins, but the two  
patristic citations (lines 28 and 39) are noted  
within the text; these aberrations in the method  
of citing sources may be a result of the scribe of  
C having followed his exemplar's method. That is,  
the hypothetical exemplar of C may have, like Sa, cited  
all biblical and patristic sources within the text.  
The possibility does exist (and it does not exclude  
the above scribal explanation) that inclusion of the  
patristic authorities -- Origen and Chrysostom --  
provides the necessary support at the very point  
where the specific moral imperatives gleaned from the  
Bible are converted into specific moral practices:  
comment on the Bible requires documentation. I have  
been unable to locate the specific sources mentioned.  
Origen's 'Commentariis in Exodum', P.G. 12, cols.  
263-298 is incomplete, as is Chrysostom's New Testament  
commentary, a fact recognised in the late 14th and  
early 15th centuries (see C.U.L. MS. Fr. 6.31, f. 35<sup>r</sup>)  
'crisostum in his werk vncomplete þe xxi omellie'.
- 29 enformeth. Ed's 'enformeth' may be a misreading of  
'conformeth'; such a misreading might arise if c  
and o, through ligature or biting, appeared as a  
two-compartmented e. Ed's reading, however, makes  
sense: see O.E.D. s.v. Inform v. III. 4b. 'To  
train or discipline in some particular course of  
action; to instruct in some particular subject,  
doctrine, etc.; to teach how to do something.  
Const. of, to, in, with, or with infin, or subord.  
clause.' As there is no reflexive use noted before  
1611, the Ed scribe may have read 'hym' as a proper  
pronoun third sing. dat. -- 'who so euer enformeth hym  
[another] to þe maners of this world ...' -- rather  
than as a reflexive 'hym[self]' as is clear from  
lines 25-6: 'for he þat gessith hym silf þat he  
stondyth, be he wayre þat be falle not'. Lines 27-38

are addressed to one who 'gessith hym silf þat he stonðyth'.

M.E.D. lists another possible meaning for 'enformeth' s.v. enfourmen v. 6f '? infect or affect', cf. '(c. 1384) WBible (1) Dan. 4. 30: With dewe of heuen his body was enfourmed or defoulid [WBible (2): colouryd; L infectum].' There is no reflexive use noted by M.E.D., nor is a use with the prep. 'to' noted.

- 35 The scribe of  $H_1$  has added 'euer' above and between 'who' and 'voideþ', and has marked its place with a caret.
- 39  $H_1$ 's reading 'crystendom seyþ vp on luke. þe. xvj. co.' seems to be a scribal slip, perhaps occasioned by an exemplar that also had an inter-textual patristic citation at this place in the text. This is  $H_1$ 's only citation, and is, it seems, a misreading of 'Crysostom'.
- 40 'Eiþer who euere' added by scribe of  $G_3$  in margin.
- 41  $H_1$ 's 'conforsip' is not cited in the O.E.D. or M.E.D., and is possibly a scribal misreading of a two-compartmented e as co. For 'enforsith' see O.E.D. s.v. Enforce v. 5b. refl. 'To exert oneself, strive.'
- 41 The scribe of  $Sa$  has added 'him' in the margin and has marked its place between 'enforsip' and 'not' with a caret.
- 42 For  $G$ 's 'menyngis' see O.E.D. s.v. Mean sb<sup>1</sup>. 'A lament, complaint.' 'Menyng(is)' is not cited as one of the variant forms of Moan, but both Mean and Moan are derived from the 'OE manan Mean v<sup>2</sup>.'  $T$  has both forms of the word, 'monynges', line 42, and 'menynges', line 45.
- 43  $C_1$ , in a different colour ink, has 'not' above and between 'forþeueþ' and 'alle', and its place is marked with a caret. The scribe of  $H_1$  has added 'alle' above and between 'not' and 'þe', and has marked its place with a caret.
- 52- These lines of  $Ed$  should be compared with the following  
66 verses from the WBE, I John, ii, 15-17:

Nyle 3e loue the world, nether tho thinges that ben in the world. If ony man loueth the world, the charite of the fadir is not in him. Forwhi al thing that is in the world, is coueytise of flesch and coueytise of iþen, and pride of lijf, whiche is not of the fadir, but it is of the world. And the world shal passe, and the coueytise of it; sotheli he that doith the wille of God, dwellith in to with outen ende.

## Biblical and Patristic Sources

- 10 Romans xii, 2.
- 12 Galatians v, 16.
- 24 Galatians v, 26.
- 25 1 Corinthians x, 12.
- 28 I have been unable to locate this reference; however, Origen's commentary on Exodus is incomplete (see note to line 28).
- 39 I have been unable to locate this reference. There is no extant commentary of Chrysostom on Luke (see note, line 28).
- 47 Matthew vii, 13-14.
- 57 1 John ii, 15-17.

## The Manuscript Relationships of Of Lords and Husbandmen

Of Lords and Husbandmen of E.U.L. MS. 93 (Ed), ff. 87<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>r</sup>, is a short tract dealing with the responsibilities of lords and husbandmen to servants and family, specifically the spiritual responsibilities of the paterfamilias.<sup>1</sup> There are two other copies of this tract extant:

(C<sub>2</sub>) Cambridge University Library MS. Hh.1.3., ff. 2<sup>r</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

(W) Westminster School Library MS. 3, ff. 117<sup>v</sup>-119<sup>v</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

The three above copies are, as far as can be determined,<sup>4</sup> the only surviving copies of the tract; moreover, they

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<sup>1</sup> There are numerous references throughout the tract to the familias, or 'meyne'; see the Commentary and various references to St. Augustine and his works. This tract ought to be compared with the Wycliffite tract 'Of Weddid Men and Wifis and of Here Children also', Cap.III, Select English Works of John Wyclif, ed. Thomas Arnold, (Oxford, 1869-71), iii, 193-95. The same tract appears in W, ff. 121<sup>r</sup>-132<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A.I. Doyle, in a letter of 24 November 1974, noted that in this manuscript the tract was incomplete; Dr. P.S. Jolliffe also noted that it was imperfect at the end, Check-List, p. 104, item 1. If Ed and W preserve the entire text, then C<sub>2</sub> is not incomplete, or imperfect. Apparently, by having the missing phrase at line 63 tacked onto the end of the tract, the tract appeared shorter than it in fact was, and as a result confusion arose.

<sup>3</sup> For references to the cited manuscripts see 'Manuscripts: Descriptions and Notices'.

<sup>4</sup> Doyle, Letter, 24 November 1974; Jolliffe, Check-List, p. 104, item 1.

are, as the following evidence of scribal variation indicates, so closely related as probably to have shared the same immediate source.

For the sake of brevity the following analysis is a summary of the complete evidence, with particular attention being focused on the more significant conjunctive and separative variants (or errors).<sup>5</sup>

Additions: Of the 14 additions made by both or either of C<sub>2</sub>W to the base text Ed, 10 are shared by C<sub>2</sub>W, two are unique to C<sub>2</sub>, and two are unique to W. Of the unique additions all could be considered minor (that is, the additions 'a', 'þe', 'a', etc.), and the kind a scribe might make unconsciously to the text, or in a conscious attempt to make his copy more explicit; in any event, the unique additions reveal very little about the textual relations among the manuscripts. The shared additions, however, are, if not conclusive, intriguing evidence, the most revealing being those of line 96, where both C<sub>2</sub> and W read 'þe lawe of god' against Ed's 'þe lawe', and line 80 where C<sub>2</sub>W add 'oþer [or W] household meyne' to Ed's 'meyne'.<sup>6</sup> For whatever reason Ed does not have the above phrase, but it is clear that C<sub>2</sub>W have not arrived at the same reading by chance.

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<sup>5</sup> Throughout the discussion the terms 'addition', 'omission' and 'substitution' are used to describe the relationship of C<sub>2</sub>W to Ed; the terms do not imply that Ed is the exemplar of C<sub>2</sub>W, nor do they imply that Ed is earlier than or closer to the original than C<sub>2</sub>W. Ed is taken as the base text, and for ease of discussion the various manuscripts are compared to Ed.

<sup>6</sup> See note to lines 78-81 and possible Wycliffite source, F.G.A.M. Aarts, De Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte (The Hague, 1967), p. xii, fn. 7, and references there to other Wycliffite or Lollard tracts in Westminster School Library MS.3.



Omissions: The omissions in both or either of  $C_2W$  present a more complex textual situation. Of the five unique omissions in  $C_2$  three (lines 12, 68, and 98) can be considered minor ('a', 'þe', etc.), and not very significant variants when considering close textual relationships. Two other variants, however, are useful in clarifying the  $C_2W$  relationships: at line 28  $C_2$  omits the phrase 'in þe ende' while Ed and W retain it, though the scribe of W (or its corrector) subpuncts the phrase.  $C_2$ , had it been copying from W, might have omitted the phrase because of the marking, but it would surely have omitted the preceding phrase 'miserere þe first', for in W it is subpuncted as well. The reverse - that W copied from  $C_2$  - is likewise ruled out, if not by the above, then by the unique omission in  $C_2$  of the phrase 'or by good wil', line 54, which W renders 'or good wille'.<sup>7</sup> This is not the kind of phrase that W would supply by conjecture if  $C_2$  had been the source.

There are five unique omissions in the text of W, three of which are minor, and two, perhaps, significant. The omission of the phrase 'as þei shall', line 4, might have been omitted in  $C_2$ , but  $C_2$ 's text has been trimmed, thus eliminating whatever evidence there may have been. However, in line 63 W omits the phrase 'holde whome he may'

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<sup>7</sup> See note to line 54.

while adding, with  $C_2$ , the phrase 'chastise whom he may'. It is worth noting that in this line  $C_2$  retains, with minor variations, all of the text of Ed plus that of W, and does so by a scribal insertion attached to the end of the tract. It is unlikely that  $C_2$  supplied the missing phrases by conjecture, and it is equally unlikely that W, with its omission of the phrase supplied by Ed $C_2$ , was the source of either.

The preponderance of the evidence of the omissions points to  $C_2$ W's dependence upon the same immediate source. There are over 18 instances of shared omissions, including articles and substantives, as well as phrases: both  $C_2$  and W read 'an erl' for 'þe eerl Iulian' line 65, and, among the phrases, both omit 'Here suen', line 1, and 'of þis psalme', line 27. It is clear, I think, from the evidence of the additions and omissions that  $C_2$ W are exceptionally close; with the added evidence from the substitutions the case for the shared immediate source is strengthened.

Substitutions: Substitutions are, in themselves, very difficult genetic variants to rely upon, for in them the individual personality, or impersonality, of the scribe is gently asserted, and in subtle and incremental ways. The addition or omission of a half-line, or the interpolation of several, or more, lines, is a bolder assertion, and leaves a definite spoor, and in many cases can be relied upon in forming loose genetic groups. The substitutions of  $C_2$ W, while telling us very little about the direct connexion of  $C_2$  with W, tell us (by inference) much about

the immediate source probably shared by them. It has already been noted that C<sub>2</sub>W read 'an erl' for 'þe earl Iulian', line 65; the substitution, I suggest, occurred in their immediate source, one that found the reference to Julian of Eclanum either obscure or not essential in a pastoral text.<sup>8</sup>

In line 54 C<sub>2</sub>W read 'beneuolence' while Ed reads 'by violence'. Ed's reading, while in error when compared to the Latin text (see note to line 54), is intelligible, for the passage is concerned with admonition and the various forms it can take: 'yeue he by violence or by good wil, haunte he disciplyne'. In accepting the reading 'beneuolence' the scribe of W failed to adjust his text, as C<sub>2</sub> did, and retained the phrase following 'beneuolence'-- 'or good wille'. The scribe of C<sub>2</sub> apparently noticed the clarifying (for Ed?) but empty expansion and omitted it. The word 'beneuolence' in C<sub>2</sub> is abbreviated - bñuolēce - and if EdC<sub>2</sub>W's immediate source had a similar abbreviation then the scribe of Ed might have misread the abbreviation (or found it difficult), and in an attempt to make sense of the exemplar's word wrote 'by violence'. C<sub>2</sub> and Ed both, in their own ways, solved the problem; W, however, solved the riddle of the corrupt word, but also succumbed to the definition/expansion following

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<sup>8</sup> The omission could be a result of a generalized filtering out of exact patristic citations. The same process can be seen at work in the tract *The Four Errors*; note especially the full citations of (Sa) *Society of Antiquaries MS. 300*, and the meagre ones, for example of (D) *Durham Cathedral MS. A. iv. 22*, and (C) *Cambridge University Library MS. Ff. 6.31*. For a possible Wycliffite source see note to lines 65-78.

it, and copied it as well.<sup>9</sup>

The majority of the substitutions (16) point toward a shared immediate source for  $C_2$  and W. Of these 16 substitutions seven are relatively minor:

$C_2$ W read 'on' for 'of', lines 41, 61, 90; 'on' for 'in', line 57; '6' for 'in', line 48; 'þe' for 'hi', line 15, and 'by' for 'þe', line 39. These shared readings, though minor when considered individually, become significant when considered collectively; that is, considered together these readings form a pattern, and this pattern is explicable in terms of a shared immediate source. The other readings, not minor, also point to a shared source:  $C_2$ W read 'þu schalt' for 'to', line 25 (Ed is in error here); 'be' for Ed's 'maybe', line 59, and 'more' for 'moste', line 67.

$C_2$ W's reading 'more' at line 67 is interesting for it can be compared with a similar reading from the cited source the 'boke to þe eerl Iulian' ('a tretijs...to an eerl clepid Julian', hereafter cited as 'a tretijs');<sup>10</sup>

Ed fro þe moste to þe leste

W fro þe more to þe leste

$C_2$  fro þe more til þe leste

A a tretijs fro þe grettere til to þe leeste.

<sup>9</sup> However, see note to line 54 and comments regarding the punctuation in W.

<sup>10</sup> For a full reference to this tract, and the relevant extract see note to lines 65-78.

C<sub>2</sub>W retain the comparative form which Ed abandons in favour of the superlative, 'moste'. The Latin text, in this line, reads 'a maiore usque ad minimum'. The agreement of C<sub>2</sub>W points, in this instance, (as in the major ones discussed above) to their dependence upon the same immediate source.

The unique substitutions, when studied carefully, also seem to lend support to the argument for C<sub>2</sub>W's dependence upon the same immediate source. There are a total of 14 unique substitutions made by C<sub>2</sub> and W. In three of these EdC<sub>2</sub>W are at variance at the same place in the text:

line 18	Ed	shalbe
	C <sub>2</sub>	schuldy be
	W	schulen be
line 43	Ed	here
	C <sub>2</sub>	hiryn
	W	heryng
line 86	Ed	þe story of daniel
	C <sub>2</sub>	þe phrophecie of daniel
	W	þe book of danyel.

In lines 18 and 43 C<sub>2</sub>W's readings are sufficiently close (allowing for readings stemming from abbreviations) for both manuscripts to have drawn upon the same immediate source. With the readings in line 86 it is not possible to identify conjunctive readings indicative of such a source: one reading may be derived from the immediate source, but nothing more certain can be said.

There is no over-lap in the remaining 11 unique substitutions. Of these, C<sub>2</sub> has eight (superscripts indicate number of substitutions, lines 22, 36, 44, 46<sup>2</sup>,

63<sup>2</sup>, and 66), all of which may be attempts (not always successful) to make the readings more explicit: for example, at lines 35-6 C<sub>2</sub> reads 'forto slake bridils to sinne', where EdW read 'forto slak bridels to synnes'. The scribe of C<sub>2</sub> may have, in this instance, substituted 'sinne' to draw attention to sin as such, to the entity Sin. In EdW the use of the plural 'synnes' seems to stress the individual, and discrete, acts of sinning, rather than the idea of sin. Another attempt is less successful: at line 66 C<sub>2</sub> reads 'to alle sugetis to þe' where EdW read 'to all suget to þe'; in this case C<sub>2</sub> has apparently substituted a substantive form of the word for a verbal one. The cited source for this line (and the passage in which it is contained) is 'a tretijs', and its reading 'to alle men suget to þee' - tends to support the reading in EdW. The other six unique readings of C<sub>2</sub> are: 'þe' for 'þi', line 22; 'also' for '&', line 44; 'in' for 'for', line 46; 'seruant' for 'serue', line 46, and two instances of 'whan' for 'whom' in line 63. Again, it is not possible to state with certainty whether these readings are derived from the immediate source or not; the substitution of 'seruant' for 'serue' is possibly an attempt to improve the sense of the clause 'but also ye for your maner serue to crist in wele lyuyng'. The two substitutions in line 63 are not as helpful:

lines 61-4 Ed...how eche man enflawmed with charite shal  
draw from syn whom he may, holde whom he  
may, & fere whome he may

W ...how eche man enflaumed wip charite  
scal drawe fro synne whom he may,  
chastise whom he may & fere whom he may

C<sub>2</sub> ... hou ech man enflaumyd w<sup>t</sup> charite schal  
 drawe fro synne whom he may, 'holde whan  
 he may, schastise whan he may & fere whom he  
 may'.

C<sub>2</sub>'s reading 'whan' weakens the sense of a passage concerned with the effect that each man, 'enflawmed with charite', has on another man, and specifically those who are subject to the man of charity.

The three unique readings in W are more difficult to assess, for each, with good reason, may be derived from the immediate source: W reads 'suggettis' for 'seruantis', line 3; 'suggettis' for 'suget', line 33, and 'forsweryng' for 'fro swerynge', line 76. The reading at line 3 - 'suggettis' for 'seruantis' - is part of the rubric, and may be a substitution by the scribe of W who wished to give the tract a title appropriate to its audience, presumably one that not only had servants but subjects as well. The reading at line 33 - 'suggettis' for 'suget' - is, like that of C<sub>2</sub> at line 66, the substitution of a substantive form for a verbal one, but one that, in this instance, makes better sense: 'selde good resoun of hem þat ben suggettis to you'. It is possible that the above two readings in W are also in its immediate source, but the evidence from EdC<sub>2</sub> argues against these readings being derived from that source. The argument against these readings relies, of course, upon EdC<sub>2</sub>'s dependence, at some stage, on that same immediate source, or in Ed's case one very close to it. W's other unique reading - 'forsweryng' for 'fro swerynge', line 76 - finds

support, however, in 'a tretijs', and since this is the source mentioned by the tract Of Lords and Husbandmen the reading 'forsweryng' may well be derived from the immediate source of C<sub>2</sub>W. The reading in EdC<sub>2</sub>, if corrupt, is not an unreasonable one given the context: 'counsel to hem þat þei kepe hem from pride, from bakbytynge, fro fornicacion, fro lechery, fro wrathe, and fro swerynge & couetyse, þat is rote of all yuels', lines 74-78. The repetition of 'fro' in this passage may have conditioned the scribe to rewrite 'forsweryng' as 'fro sweryng'.

If all the evidence of additions, omissions, and substitutions is considered, then it is fairly clear that at some point C<sub>2</sub>W depended upon the same immediate source for their text of Of Lords and Husbandmen, and that Ed depended upon a text very close to that source of C<sub>2</sub>W, but one that was, nonetheless, distinct from it. It is also clear that in the writing of the original Of Lords and Husbandmen the author either had to hand the Latin text of the De Salutaribus Documentis (from which he translated the appropriate parts), or he had its English translation 'a tretijs þat seynt austin made to an eerl clepid Julian' (from which he extracted the appropriate parts); given the close resemblance of lines 65-78 in Of Lords and Husbandmen to the opening lines of Chapter 7 of 'a tretijs' it is more likely that the scribe used the English translation.




- 1 Here suen] om. C<sub>2</sub>W. how] oblit. C<sub>2</sub>.  
 3 & ... to (1. 5)] oblit. through trimming of page C<sub>2</sub>.  
 seruauntis] suggettis W.  
 4 as þei shall] om. W. answerē] & answerē W.  
 5 in þe dredfull day off dome (1. 6)] on domisday C<sub>2</sub>W.  
 10 his] [hi]s C<sub>2</sub>. shalbe] schulde be C<sub>2</sub>.  
 12 a] om. C<sub>2</sub>.  
 13 and þat] oblit. C<sub>2</sub>.  
 15 þi] þe C<sub>2</sub>W. god] þi god C<sub>2</sub>W. of] & of C<sub>2</sub>W.  
 16 of all þi mynde] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.  
 17 strenkith] strengþes W. þe whiche] wych C<sub>2</sub>W.  
 18 'to'] om. W. shalbe] schuldy be C<sub>2</sub>; schulen be W.  
 19 and ... sones] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.  
 22 þi silf] þe self C<sub>2</sub>.  
 25 þe] om. C<sub>2</sub>W. þou] C<sub>2</sub>W; to Ed.  
 26 to] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.  
 27 of þis psalme] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.  
 27 miserere þe first in þe ende] on miserere þe first  
in þe ende W. on miserere þe fyrste C<sub>2</sub>.  
 vv ...

Here suen how lor-

[f. 87<sup>v</sup>]

dis & husbondmen shulden teche goddis  
commaundmentys & þe gospel to her ser-  
uantis as þei shall answere for hem

5       to god in þe dredfull day  
off doome.  
ll myghty god i<sub>l</sub> trinite

commaundith generally to his peple þat [f. 88<sup>r</sup>]

eche man tel to his sones how god led

10 his peple out of egipte: & þat it shalbe  
as a token in thyne honde saith god, and  
as a thyng of mynde before thyne y<sub>s</sub>en  
and þat þe law of þe lorde be euer in thy  
mouth. Also god seyth generally: þou shal

15 loue þi lorde god of all thyne hert, of  
all þi soule, of all þi mynde, and of all  
thy strenkith. And þese wordis þe whiche  
I commaunde 'to' þe þis day shalbe in þine hert  
and þou shalt tel hem to þi sones, and

20 thou shalt thyngk on hem sittynge in þin  
house, & goynge in þe wey, and slepyng  
and rysynge; kepe þi silf & þi soule be-  
sily, ne foryet þou þe wordis whiche

þine y<sub>s</sub>en hath seen & fall þei not from þin  
25 hert in all þe days of þi life; [þou] shall  
teche hem to þi sones & þi sones sones.

Seynt Austyn seith of þis psalme, mi-

serere þe first in þe ende, generally to cristen

- 29 gouerne ... meyne (1. 30)] gouerne 3e 3our sonys,  
gouerne 3e 3our meyneys C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 30 for] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 31 to speke] forto speke C<sub>2</sub>.
- 32 to do] forto do C<sub>2</sub>.
- 33 god] gode C<sub>2</sub>W. suget] suggettis W.
- 35 weyward] a weiward W. forto] to W.
- 36 synnes] sinne C<sub>2</sub>.
- 37 þe lightnes] lystnesse C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 38 felith] fele C<sub>2</sub>W. ferdnes] fersnesse C<sub>2</sub>W. Also]  
& also C<sub>2</sub>.
- 39 displesith not] displesiþ þe not C<sub>2</sub>W. þe] þy C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 40 but not] not C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 41 ~~not~~ couetyse MS. seynt] om. C<sub>2</sub>W. of] on C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 42 1j] oon & fyftyþe C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 43 here] hiryn C<sub>2</sub>; heryng W.
- 44 &] also C<sub>2</sub>.
- 46 but] om. W. for] in C<sub>2</sub>. serue] seru[an]t C<sub>2</sub>.
- 48 in] & C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 54 by violence] beneuolence W; [hene]uolence C<sub>2</sub>. or  
by good wil] or good wille W. om. C<sub>2</sub>.

men þus: Gouerne ye your housys; gouerne  
 30 ye your me[y]ne, for as it pertenyth to vs [f. 88<sup>v</sup>]  
 to speke to yow in þe chirche so it partey-  
 neth to yow to do in your housys, þat  
 ye yelde god reson of hem þat ben su-  
 get to yow. God loueth disciplyne. It is  
 35 weyward and fals innocence forto slak  
 bridels to synnes; ful perilously þe sone fe-  
 lith þe lightnes of þe fader, þat after-  
 ward he felith þe ferdnes of god. Also  
 þe synn þat displesith not in þe sone deli-  
 40 teth þe, but age hath forsaken þe, but not  
 couetyse. Also seynt austeyn of Io-  
 nes gospel, in þe 1j omelie, saith þus: Bre-  
 dren whan ye here þe lorde saynge:  
 Where I am, þere & my seruaunt shalbe,  
 45 nyl ye bythynk onely good bishopes &  
 clerkis, but also ye for your maner serue  
 to crist in wele lyuyng, doynge almes  
 & prechyng his name in doctryne to  
 whom ye may, þat eche man, also hus-  
 50 bondmen, know by this name þat he  
 howith fadris loue to his meyne for  
 crist & euerlastyng life. Amoneshe he [f. 89<sup>r</sup>]  
 all his, teche he, stire he, chastyse he,  
 yeue he by violence or by good wil, hau-  
 55 nte he disciplyne. So in his house he  
 hath fulfillid þe office of holy chirche

- 57 in] on C<sub>2</sub>W.      bishopis] a bichopis C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 59 maybe] be C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 61 of] on C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 63 holde whome he may] 'holde whan he may, schastise  
whan he may' C<sub>2</sub>; chastise whom he may W. & fere whome  
he may] '& fere whom he may' C<sub>2</sub>.
- 65 þe eerl Iulian] an erl C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 66 suget] sugetis C<sub>2</sub>.
- 67 most] more C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 68 to þe] til to þe C<sub>2</sub>.    þe swetnes] swetnisse C<sub>2</sub>.
- 69 kyngdom] kyg[dom] C<sub>2</sub>.    þe] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 72 god] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 73 þou commaund (1. 74)] comaund C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 75 hem] hem-self C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 76 fro swerynge (1. 77)] forsweryng W.
- 77 & couetyse] & fro couetise C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 79 not] no C<sub>2</sub>.
- 80 meyne] oþer [or W] houshold meyne C<sub>2</sub>W.      hathen]  
haþ C<sub>2</sub>; he haþ W.
- 84 shuld] schuldin C<sub>2</sub>W.

and in some maner bishopis office, he ser-  
 uynge to crist pat withouten ende he  
 maybe with crist. And Austyn techith  
 60 þe same sentence in þe teneth omelie  
 of Iohun, how eche man enflawmed with  
 charite shal draw from syn whom he may,  
 holde whome he may, & fore whome  
 he may. Also seynt Austeyn in his boke to  
 65 þe eerl Iulian writith þus: My broder  
 I beseche pat þou tel to all suget to þe  
 and of good wil in þine hous, fro þe mo-  
 ste to þe leste, þe loue & þe swetnes of  
 heuenly kyngdom & þe bitternes of hel,  
 70 & be þow besy and wakyng of here  
 helth, for þou shalt yelde reson to our  
 lorde god for all men suget to þe whiche  
 bene in þin house. Shew þou, byd þou,  
 commaund, counsel to hem pat þei kepe [f. 89v]  
 75 hem from pride, from bakbytyng, fro forni-  
 cacion, fro lechery, fro wrathe, and fro  
 sweryng & couetyse, pat is rote of all  
 yuels. For seynt poule saith: He pat hath  
 not cure of his & moste of his homely  
 80 meyne hathen renyed þe feyth, and is  
 worse þan an hathen man. Þerfore kyng  
 nabugodonos prechid to his peple þe  
 merueylis of god, and sent pistlis in to all  
 his empire, pat all men shuld drede god of

- 86 story] prophecie C<sub>2</sub>; book W.
- 87 kynges] kyng C<sub>2</sub>.
- 90 of] on C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 92 witnessith] witnessen W.
- 93 &] oblit. C<sub>2</sub>.
- 94 witnessithes] wytnessen C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 95 & duke] & þe duke W.
- 96 þe law] þe law of god C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 98 þe] om. C<sub>2</sub>. tellen] tellip C<sub>2</sub>.
- 100 þe] om. C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 101 þe] C<sub>2</sub>W.
- 104 is] partially oblit. C<sub>2</sub>.

- 85 heuen, and no man be hardy to blasphem  
 hym, as þe story of daniel tellith. Also þe  
 noble kynge Iosias prechid þe law of god  
 opynly & clepid þe peple of iewis from  
 ydolatrie & oþer synnes and did grete  
 90 vengeance of trespassouris of þe law  
 as þe boke of kynges & paralipomenon  
 witnessith pleynly; and so did þe noble  
 kynge Iosaphat & þe solempne kynge  
 Ezechie as þe same bokys witnessithe.
- 95 Þerfore god commaunddid þat þe kynge & duke  
 of þe peple shuld haue þe law writen [f. 90r]  
 to hem & study þerin nyght & day as þe  
 fifte & þe sixt boke of holy writ tellen.  
 And þe lord god almyghty chees Dauld
- 100 þe kynge for to fede his peple, and he  
 fed hem in þe innocence of his hert and  
 in vndirstondynge of his hondys led  
 hem as þe sauter witnessith. All þis  
 is text of holy writ & autorites of sey-
- 105 nt Austyn, þe glorious doctor of holy  
 chirche.



## NOTES

- 1 Here...to (line 5). The omission of 'Here suen' in C<sub>2</sub>W may well be the result of a shared exemplar; however, the damaged state of C<sub>2</sub> makes it difficult to reconstruct the partially obliterated words, and for the remaining text (part of line 3 through 'to' line 5) the only word remaining is the bottom half of what appears to be 'sugetis'. What does seem clear, however, is that C<sub>2</sub> does not have the same reading as Ed, and like W, seems to have omitted several phrases and words, or chosen a more concise way of introducing the tract. C<sub>2</sub>W consistently omit or thin out certain words, as is evident from the variants. The Ed text could, however, be seen as an expansion of another more austere text, perhaps much like C<sub>2</sub>, W, or their exemplar; compare line 5 where Ed reads 'in þe dredfull day off dome', with C<sub>2</sub>W's 'on domisday'.
  
- 2 Husbandmen. Husbandmen probably refers to the head of the household, see O.E.D. s.v. Husbandman 2a. 'A man who is the head of a household, the "goodman" of the house; the householder', and as noted in the O.E.D. such a use is attested in the Wycliffite Bible (WB), Matt. xxiv, 43: '3if the housbonde man wiste in what houre the theef were to cumme.'
  
- 10 &... mouth (line 14). These lines are fairly close to those of WBE (Earlier Version) Exodus xiii, 9: '& it schall be as a token in þi honde & as mynde before þin eyen: þat þe lawe of þe lord euermore be in þi mouþ'. All three manuscripts read 'a thyng of mynde' where the Earlier Version has 'mynde', which in the Later Version is corrected to 'a memorial'. The Vulgate reads monimentum, and presumably, the variation in EdC<sub>2</sub>W, along with that in the Earlier Version, may be traced to a literal rendering of, perhaps, moni mentum. The variant in EdC<sub>2</sub>W can be attributed, I think, to their immediate source, one which seems to have been influenced more by the Earlier Version of the WB rather than by the Later.
  
- 16 of all þi mynde. The phrase 'of all þi mynde', not present in C<sub>2</sub>W, is probably the result of the repetition of the same phrase: 'of all þi...', and should be compared to similar shared omissions at lines 19, 27, and 65; all of these shared omissions point toward a shared immediate source.
  
- 18 'to'. In the Ed text 'to' appears above and between 'commaunde' and 'þe', and its place is marked with a caret. W omits the preposition, so W's immediate source

may have been the source for Ed's momentary lapse; however, such evidence for a shared immediate source is not conclusive.

- 25 [þou]. C<sub>2</sub>W read 'þou' and this reading seems preferable to the ambiguous 'to' of Ed. 'To' could be a dialectal variant of thou (see O.E.D. s.v. Thou, and forms cited) and it would appear in Ed as a relict form, for Ed's usage for thou, 2nd sing. noun is consistently 'þou'/'Thou', and occasionally 'þow'. If 'to' is a relict form then it is due, probably, to the exemplar, as it is not part of Ed's repertoire of forms. Alternatively 'to' could be a simple blunder attributable either to a defective manuscript or a careless scribe.
- 27 miserere ... ende (line 28). W marks 'on miserere þe first in þe ende' for omission, probably because it adds little to the tract, save for an ambiguous precision. The reference to 'þis psalme, miserere þe first in þe ende' is to the Fourth Penitential Psalm (Ps. 50(51)). See Miserere, Revised Medieval Latin Word - List, s.v. Miser/amen, 'penitential (51st) psalm (eccl.) c.980. c. 1293'. W may have marked the phrases for omission because they were misleading: the psalm was not 'miserere þe first' but miserere the fourth, and a further reference to 'of þis psalm' would have been, perhaps, baffling to W, and otiose to C<sub>2</sub>. The phrase 'in þe ende' seems to have been useless to both manuscripts or their exemplar, for it is marked for omission in W, and omitted in C<sub>2</sub>. The text quoted in the three manuscripts is from the final paragraph of St. Augustine's exposition on Psalm 50, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos', Aurelii Augustini Opera, C.C.S.L. (Turnholt, 1956), xxxviii, 615-16.
- 29 Gouverne...couetyse (line 41). This passage, a paraphrase of St. Augustine's exposition on Psalm 50, offers good evidence, over a very few lines, for the close textual relationships of C<sub>2</sub>W and, at some distance, Ed: (a) There is the general similarity of the grammatical distinction between the 2nd pers. sing. 'þee'/'þou' to 'ye'/'yow', 2nd pers. plu. All three manuscripts observe this distinction throughout the text. (b) C<sub>2</sub>W add the phrase 'gouverne se your sonys', line 30, and read 'displesiþ þe not' for 'displeiþ not'. (c) C<sub>2</sub>W omit 'þe', line 37 and 'but', line 40. (d) C<sub>2</sub>W substitute 'fersnesse' for 'ferdnes', line 38; 'þy' for 'þe', line 39, and 'gode'/'good' for 'god', line 33. These readings are probably attributable to their immediate source. There are, of course, unique

readings in this passage, e.g., W substitutes the substantive 'suggettis' for the predicate adjective 'suget', line 33; C<sub>2</sub> reads '& also' where EdW read 'Also', line 38; and Ed, perhaps unsure of his exemplar, wrote 'meyne' for 'meyneys', line 30, but attempted to erase, then marked for omission, the y, preferring 'mene' to 'meyneys'. Ed's usage 'mene' or 'me[y]ne' seems rather straight forward - 'A family household', but C<sub>2</sub>W both have the plural form 'meyneys', and this seems to imply 'Servants', see O.E.D. s.v. Meinie 2b. 'Used as a plural: "Servants"'. Elsewhere in the tract (lines 51, and 80) C<sub>2</sub>W read 'meyne', and in those lines the meaning 'family' is intended, see note to lines 78-81.

- 33 god. C<sub>2</sub>W's reading of 'gode'/'good' corresponds to the Latin text's bonam. 'Enarrationes in Psalmos', Ps. 50. W's 'suggettis', however, has no support in the Latin text.
- 43 here. C<sub>2</sub>'s 'hiryn' is probably the inflected plural form of the verb 'here', (c.f. 'schuldin', line 84), the present participle ending in C<sub>2</sub> being formed by adding -i/ynge; however, C<sub>2</sub>'s 'hiryn' and W's 'heryng' could well be the result of individual scribal interpretations of their immediate source.
- 54 by violence. Ed's 'by violence' does not occur in the Latin text -- 'In Joannis Evangelium tractatus', Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia, P.L. xxxv, cols. 1768-9, benevolentiam does--nor does 'or by good wil'. Apparently, the source for this phrase is to be sought in the immediate source(s) of Ed and W, and the confusion surrounding 'by violence'/'bene]uolence'/'beneuolence' is probably a result of that source's abbreviation of the word; such a mishandling of one word could give rise to two quite different responses. The scribe of Ed justifies the phrase 'or by good wil' by rendering the questionable word as 'by violence', the opposite effect of 'good wil'. The scribe of C<sub>2</sub>, however, justifies his reading 'beneuolence' by omitting the redundant expression 'or by good wil'. W's scribe seems aware of the problem too, for he sets off the phrase 'or good wille' with periods, as if to suggest that 'or good wille' might have a meaning slightly different from that of 'beneuolence', or that it is merely an expansion of the word it follows. Paul G. Arakelian in his article 'Punctuation in a Late Middle English Manuscript', N.M. lxxvi (1975), 621 notes that the periods mark off and enclose the phrases (usually dates or numbers), His observation can be extended to other manuscripts, and with much the same result, but it is worth noting that the period may be used to mark off other kinds of phrases,

as well as 'dates or numbers'.

- 63 holde ... may. The scribe of C<sub>2</sub>, because of the repetition of 'may', omitted almost an entire line, but corrected his error, copied the line at the end of the tract, and marked the line's place with a caret after 'may', line 63. The scribal correction reads: 'holde whan he may, schastise whan he may & fere whom he may', a reading that combines everything contained in Ed as well as W, in addition to yielding several unique readings. Such variation is, perhaps, to be expected, for the passage is a paraphrase of Section 9 or 'þe teneth omelie', and, more importantly, a repetitive one: note that 'whom he may' appears at least three times in each manuscript. The scribe of Ed, perhaps because of the repetition of 'may', may have omitted the phrase 'chastise whom he may'; the same is probably true of W's omission of 'holde whom he may'.

- 65 eerl...yuelis (line 78). Both C<sub>2</sub>W agree in the substitution 'an erl' for Ed's more precise 'þe eerl Julian'. The reference is probably to Julian, bishop of Eclanum. Lines 65-78 should be compared with a very similar passage from 'a tretijs þat seynt austin made to an eerl clepid Julian', Harley MS. 2330, ff. 22<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>, edited by Sven Fristedt in The Wycliffe Bible, Part II (Stockholm, 1969), p. 20. I have used Fristedt's text:

J Biseche, my broþir, J biseche, telle þou to alle men suget to þee and of good wille in þin hous, fro þe grettere til to þe leeste, þe loue and þe swetnesse of heuenli kingdom and þe drede of helle, and be bisy and waking of her heelp. forwhi for alle men sugetis to þee þat ben in þin hous þou schalt selde resoun to þe lord, telle þou, bidde þou, comaunde þou, councele hem þat þei be war of pride, of bacbiting, of drunkenesse, of fornyacioun, of lecherye, of wrappe, of forswering, of couetise þat is roote of alle yuelis.

As Fristedt has noted, this tract (also titled 'De Salutaribus Documentis') is one of several in the manuscript whose subject matter is of Lollard origin, and the 'Liber De Salutaribus Documentis' 'in especial is purely in the spirit of Wycliffe', The Wycliffe Bible, Part I (Stockholm, 1953), p. 44. Fristedt's arguments, based primarily on a study of translational methods, are intricate and their effect is cumulative rather than conclusive; however, I am prepared to accept the general implication of a Lollard origin

for the above treatise 'to an eerl clepid Julian', and to suggest that the common source of C<sub>2</sub>WEd probably used, at one stage, a manuscript<sup>2</sup> much like Harley 2330. For other manuscripts of the tract, see Fristedt, The Wycliffe Bible, Part II, p. LXXI.

- 76 fro swerynge. W's 'forsweryng' is the reading also found in Harley MS. 2330 (noted above), and may well be the reading of the common source. EdC's reading 'fro swerynge' agrees with the context --<sup>2</sup> 'from pride, from bakbytynge, fro fornicacion, fro lechery, fro wrathe, and fro swerynge'-- and may be a variant reading occasioned by the repetition of 'fro', and the occurrence of a word without 'fro' before it, (assuming that the immediate source had 'forsweryng').
- 80 For 'renyd' see O.E.D. s.v. Renay, Reny 1.a. 'To renounce, abjure (one's faith, God, lord, etc.)'.
- 78 He...man (line 81). C<sub>2</sub>W at line 80, add 'oper [or W] household meyne'. The passage is from I Timothy, v,8. and the version as presented by EdC<sub>2</sub>W (and particularly C<sub>2</sub>W) ought to be compared with the WBE: 'Forsoth if ony man haue<sup>1</sup> not cure of his owne, and moost of his household men, he hath denyed the feith, and is worse than an vnfeithful, or hethen, man'.<sup>1</sup> haue<sup>1</sup> hath (one other manuscript); men]meyne (several other manuscripts). The similarity of C<sub>2</sub>W, and Ed, to the Wycliffite text is more striking if the above translation of the Vulgate is compared to two other contemporary translations of the passage: (1) 'Whoso forsoþe has no cure of his owne and most of his homly; as ben faders and moderis and breþere and of suyche, manere; he is werre þan þe vntrewe and has denyed þe feiþ', (MS. Parker 32.f. 197, col. 1. in The Pauline Epistles, ed. Margaret J. Powell, E.E.T.S. O.S. cxvi, 216); (2) '& who þat haþ no charge of þilke þat beþ of his, & most of þilke þat beþ homlyche wiþ hym, he haþ forsaken his feyþ, & is worse þan a mysbylæfed man'. (MS. Selwyn College 108 L.1., f. 78, in A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version, ed. A.C. Paues (Cambridge, 1904), 113). It seems probable then that the archetype of the tract Of Lords and husbandmen had to hand a Wycliffite version of the Pauline Epistles, and that this version was very close to the Earlier Version.

## Biblical and Patristic Sources

- 10 Exodus xiii, 9.
- 11 Deuteronomy vi, 5-8.
- 27 Psalm l[50], 15.
- 29 St. Augustine, Psalm 50, 'Enarrationes in Psalmos', Aurelii Augustini Opera, C.C.S.L. (Turnholti, 1956), xxxviii, 615-616.
- 41 John xiv, 3.
- 42 St. Augustine, 'In Joannis Evangelium: tractatus LI', Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera Omnia, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, xxxv, cols. 1768-1769.
- 60 St. Augustine, 'In Joannis Evangelium: tractatus X', Sancti Aurelii ..., cols. 1471-1472.
- 65 'a tretijs þat seynt austin made to an eeri clepid Julian', ed. Sven Fristedt, The Wycliffe Bible, Part II (Stockholm, 1969), 20.
- 78 1 Timothy v, 8.
- 82 Daniel iii, 95-100; iv, 1-34.
- 86 4 Kings xxiii, 1-37.
- 87 2 Paralipomenon xxxiv, 1-33.
- 93 2 Paralipomenon xvii, 1-19; xxix, 1-36; xxx; xxxi.
- 98 Deuteronomy xi, 1-32; Josue i, 1-8.
- 99 2 Kings xxi, 1-22.
- 103 Psalm xvii, 1-51.

# The Manuscript Relationships of Meditation I of St. Anselm

Meditation I of St. Anselm of E.U.L. MS. 93 (Ed), ff. 90<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup>, is a generally accurate translation of St. Anselm's Latin 'Meditatio ad concitandum timorem'.<sup>1</sup>

Other copies of the Middle English translation include:

- (U) University College, Oxford MS. 97, ff. 155<sup>v</sup>-158<sup>v</sup>.<sup>2</sup>
- (S) British Museum MS. Add. 22283, ff. 116<sup>v</sup>, cols. a-b - 117<sup>r</sup>, col. a.
- (T<sub>1</sub>) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. B. 14.53 (336), ff. 132<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>r</sup>.
- (L<sub>1</sub>) Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 174, ff. 85<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>v</sup>.
- (L) Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 23, ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>.<sup>3</sup>
- (Cb) Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS. Bradfer-Lawrence 8, ff. 7<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>v</sup>.
- (Ar) British Museum MS. Arundel 197, ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>.
- (G2) Glasgow University MS. Hunter 496 (V.7.23), ff. 178<sup>v</sup>-183<sup>v</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> St. Anselm, 'Meditatio I', S. Anselmi Opera Omnia, ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946), iii, 76-79.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Carl Horstman, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers (London, 1896), ii, 443-445. Horstman supplies readings from S. For references to the cited manuscripts see 'Manuscripts: Descriptions and Notices'.

<sup>3</sup> D.J. Lloyd, 'An Edition of the Prose and Verse in the Bodleian Manuscript Laud Miscellaneous 23' (Yale Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1943), 126-132. Lloyd edited this manuscript from photographs on deposit with the Library of Congress, and was not able to consult the manuscript itself. I have consulted his thesis and the manuscript, and noted the errors in transcription. His edition is essentially a transcription, with emendations being made from the Horstman text; Lloyd's thesis is hereafter cited as 'Thesis MS. Laud Misc. 23'.

As far as I or Dr. Doyle can determine, the above nine manuscripts are the only extant copies of the Middle English translation, and they all are textually related.<sup>4</sup> The following discussion provides the first preliminary analysis of the textual relationships of all the manuscripts, and the different genetic groups are established on the basis of scribal variation in omission, addition, substitution and word order.<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed account of the manuscript relationships and textual variation of U, S, T<sub>1</sub>, L<sub>1</sub>, L, Cb, Ar, Ed and G<sub>2</sub> see the notes following the text of this treatise. The dialects of the various texts are considered in the dialectal section following this introduction.

I have attempted to keep the following introduction succinct, for the various textual relationships affecting other texts which emerge from a study of this tract receive a more elaborate and systematic treatment in the introduction to The Stathel of Sin (which follows this tract). The present introduction may therefore be looked upon as a preliminary study whose conclusions are amplified in the introduction to The Stathel of Sin.

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<sup>4</sup> Dr. A.I. Doyle (personal letter of 24 November, 1974) has informed me that there is a different translation in B.M. MS. Harley 535.

<sup>5</sup> Throughout the following discussion, and in the notes, the terms 'addition', 'omission', 'substitution', and 'word order' are used to describe the various textual differences as they occur between Ed and the other manuscripts to which it is compared. The text of Ed, which is the base text in this edition, is treated as a copy of the treatise Meditation I of St. Anselm, and not the original.



In establishing the priority of some manuscript readings, that is, the process whereby certain readings or variants are thought to be closer to the archetype than others, I have had occasional recourse to the Latin critical text of 'Meditatio 1', but that text has only been treated as a general guide, for the Middle English text may well have been a translation of a corrupt or modified Latin exemplar;<sup>6</sup> besides, the scribe of the Middle English archetype from which all the extant copies descend may have taken liberties with the Latin text that a more cautious translator-scribe would have avoided. The Latin text is however a valuable check, and it has been particularly useful in explaining a few readings contained in one group while absent from another.

Horstman, in his printed edition of 'A ful good meditacion...' (in this thesis *The Stathel of Sin*) and the Meditation I of St. Anselm, stated that for these tracts (as well as for three others) the 'Simeon MS [S] . . . in these pieces copies the Univ. Coll. Ms.'<sup>7</sup>

This early opinion has been reaffirmed by Doyle who has noted their closeness, and says of S and its contents

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<sup>6</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that most of the variation among the manuscripts is likely to be due to the vagaries of scribal habit. Recourse to the hypothesis of a defective Latin exemplar is therefore probably needless; it is well, however, to keep the possibility in mind when considering a fairly close translation of a Latin text.

<sup>7</sup> Horstman, ii, p. 436.

that 'certain peculiar items may be argued to be derived from Univ. [97] directly . . .'.<sup>8</sup> U and S are so similar in text against the other manuscripts (that is, in agreements in addition, omission, substitution and word order) that it is apparent that S is probably a copy of U or of a U-like text.

U is probably not a copy of S or of an S-like text, for S has several scribal errors that are not in U, nor are they reproduced elsewhere: at line 43, where UT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LEdG<sub>2</sub> read 'right', S omits the word; at line 154, where UT<sub>1</sub>LCb read 'falle þow not' (L<sub>1</sub>Ar read 'falle not', and EdG<sub>2</sub> read 'fall') S omits the entire phrase as UT<sub>1</sub>LCb have it. There are other minor variations in S: 'is it'/'it is' is reversed in S at lines 7 and 71; and 'of' replaces 'for', line 190, but these are the kinds of variants likely to occur anywhere in a manuscript, and, indeed, at line 71, LG<sub>2</sub>Ar agree with S, but little can be made of this, or of the other minor variations.

The burden of proof for U and S's dependence upon the same immediate source must rest, finally, on the evidence of conjunctive and separate variants, those readings that join U and S and separate them from the other manuscripts; the variants that follow are only a sample of the more significant. The most significant variant, given the very close similarity of U and S, is

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<sup>8</sup> A.I. Doyle, 'Appended notes and bibliographical index to a survey of later Middle English theological literature' (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1952), 152.

a conjunctive and separative one: U and S omit the phrase 'þe grete day of þe Lorde it is ful nyȝ', lines 47-48; this phrase, however, appears in the other manuscripts, with minor alterations (see variants to lines 47-48). The omission of these phrases probably came about because 'þe grete' etc. follows the first 'nyghe', and the phrase 'and swifte in his comynge' follows the second 'nyȝ'. The scribes of U and S (or their immediate source(s)) omitted the phrases because of the repetition of the same word a line below. The other manuscripts, however, have the phrase (as does the Latin critical text),<sup>9</sup> and since it occurs in a biblical passage the evidence points toward a scribal error, and one that is confined to U and S.

Again there is agreement between U and S against all other manuscripts at lines 1-2, where they share the same rubric; at line 67, they read 'þei shuld' for 'þou woldest'; at line 68, U and S read 'vanysshe away' as against variations of 'spitte hem away'/'spit hem from þe'; at lines 84-85, they read 'and alle þat' where the other manuscripts read 'also more nyghe þan'.

The list could be extended but it would only confirm what is clear from the above error and readings, and that is that S may well be a faithful copy of U. Alternatively, they may both be faithful copies of the same immediate

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<sup>9</sup> The portion omitted is the opening of Zephaniah 1. 14, and U and S are not usually given to tampering with biblical passages.

source; this possibility would at least account for the closeness (where they are close) of  $T_1L_1LCbArEdG_2$  to US in that they could have used the same immediate source, or one(s) very close to the putative immediate source(s) of U and S.

What does emerge from a study of the variants of all the manuscripts is the existence of the following genetic groups:  $[(US) (T_1L_1L)] [EdG_2] [Cb] [Ar]$ ; none of the extant manuscripts is the immediate source of any other, as is proved by the presence of omissions unique to one and not passed to another. It is also clear from U and S's omission, at lines 47-48, that  $T_1L_1L$ ,  $EdG_2$ , Cb, and Ar depend upon immediate sources different from that (or those) used by U and S. That this is so is more clearly shown by the following substitutions occurring in lines 167-168:

$EdG_2$	of [on $G_2$ ] what perty maist þou draw or hold þe
$T_1L_1Cb$	in what partie schal he holde hym
US	where schal he holde hym
L	omitted

The scribe of Ar succumbs, it seems, to homoteleuton and omits the entire two lines following 'ensegid' and begins with the portion following 'constreyned'. Although the above substitutions indicate that  $EdG_2$ ,  $T_1L_1Cb$ , and US depend upon different immediate sources, it is worth noting that over most of the tract U, S,  $T_1L_1L$ , Cb, Ed, and  $G_2$  have a great many readings in common.

It can safely be said that  $T_1L_1LCbEdG_2$ , though

textually close to U3, are several 'generations' away, for many of the variant readings cannot be explained by independent, coincident variation on the part of the various copyists of the surviving texts. This is particularly true in the case of Ar and Cb, for both manuscripts are defective in many ways: Cb has lengthy omissions from lines 26-30, and from lines 64-86; the former is paralleled in part in Ar from lines 19-30. The scribe of Ar, moreover, chooses to expand the given text, so his copy can be regarded as virtually a different version of the meditation.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the expansions in Ar appear nowhere else so there is little immediate general textual interest in them. Ar, however, may be seen as a surviving example of what could befall the original Middle English translation of Meditation I of St. Anselm.

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<sup>10</sup> See notes and Appendix I for the interpolations in Ar.

## **The Scribal Dialects of the Extant Copies of Meditation I of St. Anselm<sup>1</sup>**

The section is primarily a summary of the views of Professor M.L. Samuels, and Mr. Michael Benskin on the dialects of the texts of Meditation I of St. Anselm. This section falls into three parts. Part I presents a map of all extant copies of the meditation with their tentative locations so indicated. Part II is a general consideration of these placements, and, in more detail, some of the problems surrounding the placements of Ed, G<sub>2</sub>, and L. Part III comprises a linguistic profile of the scribal dialect of Ed, based on an analysis in respect of the 270 items used in Professor McIntosh's questionnaire for a survey of the northern and midland dialects of later Middle English.<sup>2</sup> This profile is a characterisation of Ed's written language, and of use chiefly for taxonomic purposes: it is neither a grammar of the dialect, nor an inventory of all its spellings.<sup>3</sup> This is followed by

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Benskin read and commented on an earlier version of this paper and suggested several major revisions, especially in part II; and as I have incorporated his revisions and amplifications, this dialectal section is best seen as a collaborative effort. I also wish to acknowledge the help of Mr. George Leslie who drew the map.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Angus McIntosh, 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology', English Studies xliv (1963), 1-11, rpt. in Approaches to English Historical Linguistics, ed. R. Lass (New York, 1969), 392-393.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Angus McIntosh, 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts', N.M. lxxvi (1975), 220.

abstracts from the profile of those items for which, taken in combination, the variant forms are of particular importance both as evidence of dialectal origin in the Central Midlands, and as evidence for more narrowly-defined provenances within this region.<sup>4</sup>

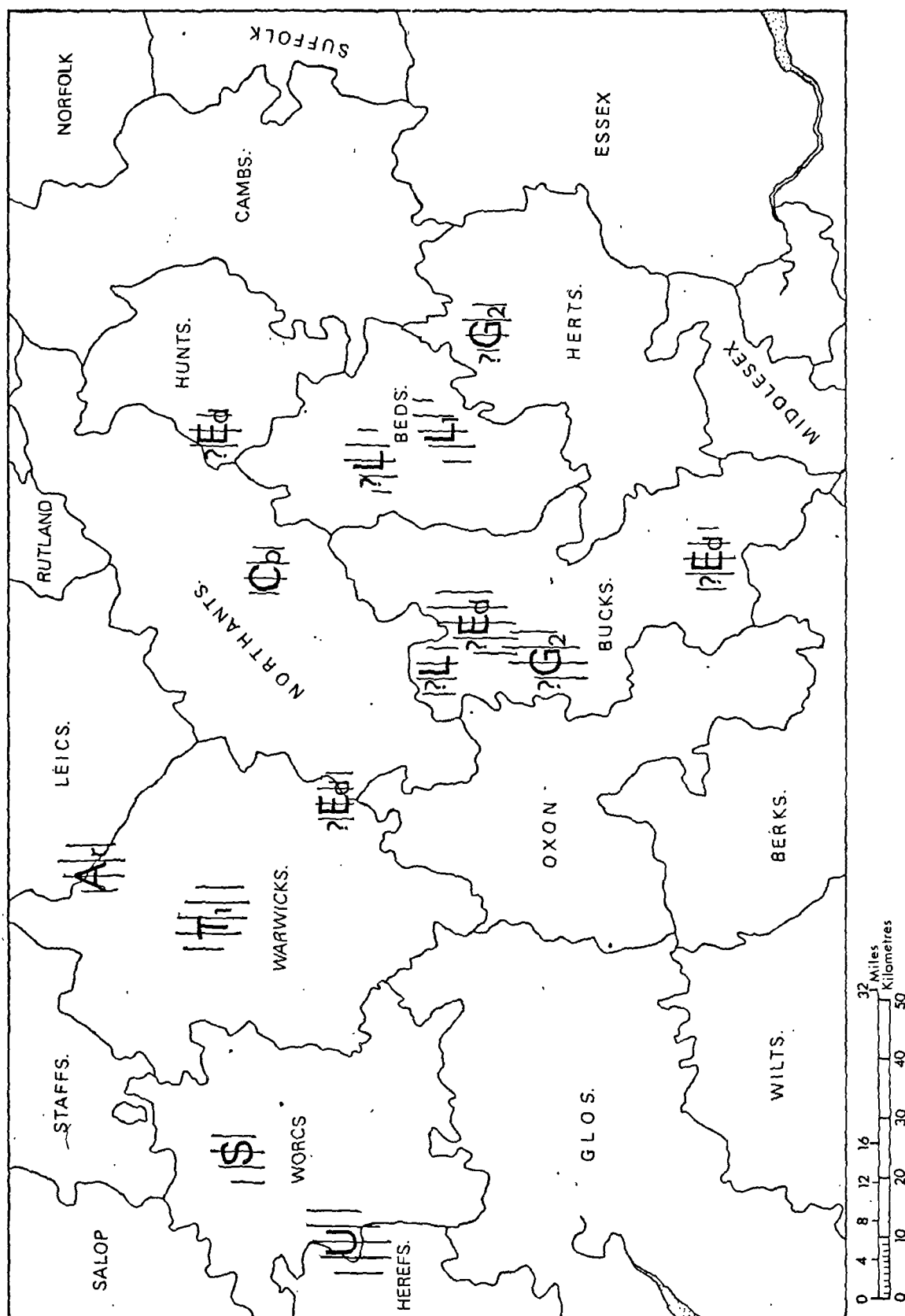
I The Map. It must be noted that the provenances here suggested for the dialects of the various scribes are not, in the first instance, geographical: they are relative locations established within an overall matrix of scribal dialects, some of which are of known local origin. Such an ordering, of course, has geographical implications and as has been suggested these implications may amount to fairly well-defined placings.<sup>5</sup> We may be fairly confident that the scribal dialect of Ar belongs to the Warwickshire-Leicestershire border, somewhere in the area about Atherstone, Hinckley and Nuneaton; it is at least unlikely to derive from a place much outside this area. The location of S in northern Worcestershire, somewhere in the vicinity of Bordesley and Alcester is firmer still: there is much material from this and the surrounding area, some of it is localised, and the dialectal peculiarities of S link it particularly closely with a small sub-set of that material. Of the nine extant copies of the Meditation, however,

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<sup>4</sup> For the principles of localization, see A. McIntosh, 'A New Approach ...', pp. 392-403.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Benskin, 'Local archives and Middle English dialects', Journal of the Society of Archivists v (1977), 503.

TENTATIVE LOCALIZATIONS OF THE DIALECTS OF MEDITATION I OF ST. ANSELM





only the above two are written in a language that is both dialectally consistent and strongly local in character. With the exception of Cb and L<sub>1</sub>, the remainder are in varying degrees 'colourless', and in some cases may be dialectally mixed. Thus the locations suggested for these others are accordingly tentative.

## II

What is known of the local origins of the scribal dialects of the various copies of a given text may combine with the evidence for their textual relations to yield a coherent account of the origins and dissemination of that text, and allow the recovery of a part of its literary history; however, this account must be qualified.

First, we cannot know that the language of a given copy is that of the scribe who wrote it: an exact, or 'mirror', copyist would replicate the text before him, thus producing a copy of a text which displays the dialectal characteristics of the exemplar and not those of the copyist.

Second, we cannot be sure, even when the language of a given copy is indeed that of its scribe, that the scribe produced the copy in the same place as that in which he acquired his written language: that is, the scribal dialect tells us very little about where the copy was made. Thus, the geographical implications of scribal dialect are, in theory, independent of the geographical distribution of a text. However, in practice, as may be expected,

there is quite commonly agreement between the textual critic's groupings and the geographical distribution of the several copies of a text; but even here care must be taken as to the kinds of logical conclusions that may be drawn: the one cannot in any sense be said to confirm the other. Where the textual groupings run counter to the dialectal groupings, we have to accept that there is no coherence between them. Such a finding may lead us to reexamine our textual and dialectal groupings and to refine our observations, but the observation that a copy C belongs textually to a group of copies known to have been made in, for example, London, cannot, as a matter of principle, refute the observation that the dialect of C belongs to, for example, Durham. Scribes and manuscripts travelled, and in one remove a quite different textual tradition could be introduced into an area where many copies had already been made by local scribes from some other version of the same text. These factors must be considered, and they qualify our evidence: thus, if textual relations are inadmissible as falsification of dialectal provenance, then they cannot be used to confirm it when they agree. Their agreement or disagreement merely allows a coherent and fuller story to be told.

From consideration of the textual variants in the extant copies of Meditation I of St. Anselm, the following groups emerge (see the introduction to Meditation I, above):

- (a) (US) ( $T_1L_1L$ )
- (b) Ed  $G_2$
- (c) Cb
- (d) Ar

For the dialects of Ed,  $G_2$ , and L, competing locations have emerged, and we are at present unable to choose between them. The following points should be considered:

- (1) The Meditation is a very short text, and its yield of dialectal information, when analyzed using the present questionnaire, is rather small. As a result, it may be that some of the present uncertainties arise from using too small a sample of the scribal dialect in question: the profiles obtained so far may be insufficiently detailed. For  $G_2$  and L, additional information, drawn from other texts written by the same scribes and dialectally consistent with their texts of the Meditation, may resolve the difficulty; however our uncertainty over Ed remains, because additional information, drawn from analyses of all the other texts, has already been exploited for these purposes.
- (2) In principle, it is possible that the scribal dialects of Ed,  $G_2$ , and L are not internally consistent, and rather than representing some genuinely local usage, they may be hybrids that have arisen in the course of copying by scribes who in part reproduced the dialect of their exemplars, and in part substituted the forms appropriate

to their own.<sup>6</sup> Except in the special case presented by Central Midland Standard (see 3, below), this is unlikely to provide the correct explanation. The scribal dialects of these manuscripts do not display the large number of functionally-equivalent variants that characterises a thorough-going Mischsprache; nor (with the possible exception of L) can they be split into the two or three dialectal sub-sets, each assignable to some one area separate from the others, that characterise a 'layered' text (or incipient Mischsprache). Our present analyses of the dialects of G<sub>2</sub> and L are admittedly not very extensive; but that for Ed is comprehensive, and apart from one or two northerly relict forms in Rolle's

Twelve Chapters of Perfection ( Emendatio Vitae ), and one or two forms that are possible western relicts in other texts, the language of Ed is evidently the usage of some one scribe. In G<sub>2</sub>, the form þus 'these' is assumed to be relict from a westerly exemplar (which may not be proximate). In L, similar origin for þus is assumed, which allows placing in northern Buckinghamshire; but if oune 'own', adj. and þorwys 'through' are similarly accounted for, then the placing in Bedfordshire is open. Further analysis is needed to determine the extent of the relict stratum.

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<sup>6</sup> Angus McIntosh, 'Word Geography in the Lexicography of medieval English', Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences cxi (1973), 61, and footnote 15.

(3) The dialects of these three copies may be accommodated, in varying degrees, to Central Midland Standard,<sup>7</sup> and thus present a problem similar to that confronting a modern dialectologist who attempts to localize the speech of someone whose local accent has been modified by contact with speakers of Received Pronunciation. Central Midland Standard was probably not identical with any one local dialect, but it was sufficiently like the local scribal dialects of a large part of the Central Midlands for there to be widespread interference and contamination in the language of texts copied by Central Midland scribes from Central Midland exemplars. The dialects of Ed and G<sub>2</sub> are evidently of this Central Midland type. Moreover, within the Central Midlands there are, in any event, quite large areas over which little dialectal variation has so far been observed, and the difficulty of placing 'colourless' material is compounded. Evidence is now emerging that attention to the finer detail of orthography may go some way toward resolving such difficulties; it is also likely that the questionnaire used for the present analyses, and the maps so far available, are inadequate for these purposes. It is now apparent that it will require much further work before any firmer placings can be expected for the dialects of these copies of the Meditation.

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<sup>7</sup> M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', English Studies xliiv (1963), 81-94, rpt. in Approaches to English Historical Linguistics, see especially pp. 407-415.

Of the other manuscripts, the following should be noted.

- (4) The placing of T, in central Warwickshire is Michael Benskin's conclusion. Professor Samuels considers that the forms swich 'such', wordel 'world', ban(n)e 'then' and ȝut 'yet', which are not typical in that area, point farther south or south-west; but such a provenance would square less well with some of the other forms that are well-accommodated in central Warwickshire. It is possible that T<sub>1</sub> exemplifies a 'two-layer' text, and if this is the case then further analysis is needed.
- (5) U is apparently mixed, but identification of the separate 'layers' is far from clear. The best that can be said in favour of the provenance here suggested is that there is a fairly substantial component that can be placed, as a single assemblage, in this part of western Worcestershire; and that the form meny(e) 'many', if it belongs to the same dialectal 'layer' as luytel and related spellings, points rather strongly in this direction.

For U we also have some documentary evidence of ownership which connects it with a William Counter who was 'presented to the living of Pirton in Worcestershire',<sup>8</sup> a village lying about 14 miles to the west of the area suggested for S. In addition to this there is a close literary connexion between U and S, for both manuscripts

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<sup>8</sup> E.P. Wilson, 'A critical text, with commentary, of MS English theology f.39 in the Bodleian Library' in 'Commentary' (Univ. of Oxford B. Litt. thesis 1968), 35-36.

contain many of the same treatises, three of which -- 'The Five Wounds', 'Exposition of the Lord's Prayer', and John Clanvowe's treatise 'The Two Ways' -- are extant only in U and S.<sup>9</sup> This evidence, of course, can in no way confirm the placing of the scribal dialect of U, but it does allow us to suggest, with somewhat more confidence, that if we assume a local scribe the placing of U in Northern Worcestershire may be the most reasonable approach to take. The problem of 'layering', however, remains, and more work on the various dialectal components is required before a firm placing of the scribal dialect is possible.

In this consideration of the scribal dialects of the Meditation I have merely sketched the outlines for a more thorough and much larger study: some of the problem areas have been identified, but a great deal more work on the scribal dialects of the Central Midlands is required before more than tentative solutions can be suggested.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> A.I. Doyle, 'The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts', Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Rossell Hope Robbins, ed. Beryl Rowland (London, 1974), 337.

<sup>10</sup> I wish to acknowledge, here, the help and generous assistance of Professor M.L. Samuels and Michael Benskin for their analyses and placings of the scribal dialects of the Meditation.

The relative frequencies of the variant forms for a given item are here represented by the use of round brackets. Forms not enclosed in round brackets are dominant; forms enclosed in a single set are (secondary variants); and forms enclosed in a double set are ((minor variants)), in some cases occurring once only. For any item, there may be two or more variants having the same frequency: thus, for example, 'both' admits boiþe (boyth, boithe, boþe, boiþ). Square brackets are used to condense information: thus, for example, deth[e] implies both deth and dethe. The forms implied by any one representation in which square brackets are used have always the same relative frequency: thus ((fra[m])) implies both ((fram)) and ((fra)). Hyphens are editorial, and indicate either a space between elements of a single word-item (for example, by-fore for MS. by fore), or an element abstracted from some larger word (for example, bisy- from bisynes). Transcription is diplomatic, and standard expansions are used.



# A profile of the dialect of Ed<sup>11</sup>

## Key word    Forms for entry

1	the	þe (( the ))
2	these	þies (þese) (( thes[e], þes ))
3	those	þo
4	she	she
5	her	her <u>once</u> , hir <u>once</u>
6	it	it
7	they	þei (( thei, þe ))
8	them	hem
9	their	her (( here ))
10	such	suche, siche
11	which	whiche (( whuche <u>once</u> ; <u>relict</u> ? ))
12	each	eche
13	many	many
14	man	man-
15	any	eny
16	-and	-ond
17	'much'	myche
18	are	bene (( ben ))

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<sup>11</sup> This profile represents an ordered copy of an analysis made by completing a questionnaire designed for use with northern and midland dialects of English: for a discussion of the McIntosh-Samuels profile see Angus McIntosh, 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts', pp. 219-223.

## Key word    Forms for entry

- 19 were        ver (( var ))
- 20 is         is (( his ))
- 21 was        was
- 22 shall s.   shal (( shall )) ;   2sg shalt
- 23 shall p.   shullen
- 24 would s.   wold (( wolde )) ;   2sg woldest
- 25 would p.   wolden
- 26 will s.   wil;   2sg wilt
- 27 will p.   wol[e]
- 28 'gar' etc.
- 29 'ta' etc.   mak-, tak-
- 30 'til' + sb.   to
- 31 'til' + inf.   to
- 32 from        fro, from (( frome ))
- 33 after        aftir, after (( after ))
- 34 then        þan
- 35 than        þan
- 36 though      þough (( þoughe ))
- 37 if          if (( If ))
- 38 as          as
- 39 against     ayens (( ayen, ayeyn, ayenst ))
- 40 before c.
- 41 since
- 42 yet         yit
- 43 while, conj. rel.   whillie (( whil ))
- 44 afterwards    aftirward
- 45 'at' rel.

## Key word    Forms for entry

- 46 strength    strenkeþ (( strenkith, strenkþ - ))  
 47 death        deeth (( deth[e] ))  
 48 earth        erth-  
 49 wh-          wh-  
 50 not          not  
 51 nor          ne (( nor ))  
 52  $\bar{a}/\bar{o}$         o  
 53 world        world; worlde-  
 54 think        thynk- thenk- (( þenk ))  
 55 work v.    worche  
 56 pres. part. -yng  
 57 there        þere (( þer ))  
 58 where        where (( wher ))  
 59 sb. pl.    -es, -is (-s) (( -ys ))  
 60 might v.    myght (( myghten ))  
 61 through    þorough (( through, þerous, þorowgh ))  
 62 when        whan (( whan ))  
 63 pres. 3sg. -ith (-eth) (( -yth ))  
 64 pres. pl.    -en (( -yn ))  
 65 weak pt.    -ed, -id  
 66 weak ppl.    -id (-ed) (( -yd ))  
 67 str. ppl.    -en (( -yne ))  
 68 give        y-  
 69 about adv.  
 70 about pr.    about[e]  
 71 above adv.    aboue  
 72 above pr.

## Key word    Forms for entry

- 73 air
- 74 -ald
- 75 all            all
- 76 -amb
- 77 among adv.
- 78 among pr. among
- 79 -ang
- 80 -ank
- 81 answer sb.
- 82 answer v.    answer[e]
- 83 ask            ar-
- 84 away           away
- 85 been           be[ne]
- 86 before adv-t.    bifore, before (biforne)
- 87 before pr-t.    by-fore, byfore, bifore
- 88 before adv-p.    be-fore
- 89 before pr-p.    before, by[-]fore, bifore
- 90 began (to)      began
- 91 behoves          bihoueth
- 92 beneath adv.    bynethe, byneiþe
- 93 beneath pr.
- 94 between pr.    betwen
- 95 blessed          blessid
- 96 both            \*hoiþe (boyth, boiþhe, boþe, boiþ)
- 97 brother          broþer
- 98 busy adj.      biay[-] (( byse- ))

## Key word    Forms for entry

99	busy <u>y.</u>	bisie
100	but	but
101	by	by
102	call ('name')	
103	came <u>sg.</u>	cam
104	came <u>pl.</u>	came
105	can	can
106	cast	cast
107	choose	
108	church	chirche (chyrche)
109	could	
110	daughter	doughter
111	day	day
112	die <u>pres.</u>	dye, di-
113	die <u>pt.</u> <u>etc.</u>	
114	did <u>pt.</u> <u>sg.</u>	did-
115	did <u>pt.</u> <u>pl.</u>	
116	-dom	-dom[e]
117	down	down
118	east	
119	eight	eist
120	eighth	
121	either (of)	eipir
122	either (or)	eip <u>er</u>
123	eleven	
124	eleventh	

## Key word    Forms for entry

125	enough	ynoughe
126	-er ( <u>cpv.</u> )	-er, - <u>er</u>
127	-est( <u>supl.</u> )	-est
128	eye <u>sg.</u>	yʒe
129	eye <u>pl.</u>	yʒen, yʒes, ieyn, iyen
130	far	fer
131	father	fadre (fader, fadir)
132	fellow	felow
133	fifth	fifte (fift)
134	fight	fight
135	fire	fire
136	first	first
137	five	
138	flesh	flesh[-] (( fleshe ))
139	follow	folow
140	four	four
141	fourth	fourthe (fourte)
142	fowl	
143	friend	
144	fruit	fruyte (fruyt)
145	-full	-ful
146	good	good (( gode[-] ))
147	grow	grow
148	has	hath, haith (( hathe, haiþ ))
149	have	haue (( han ))
150	head	[-]hede

## Key word    Forms for entry

151	heaven	heuen (( heuyn ))
152	height	
153	hell	hell (hel)
154	high	highe, high-
155	him	hym
156	holy	holy (( holi ))
157	-hood	
158	how	how
159	hundred	
160	-ing ( <u>vb1.</u> <u>sb.</u> )	-ynge (( -yng ))
161	k ( <u>for usual</u> c)	(( k ))
162	know	know
163	lady	
164	laugh <u>v.</u>	laugh
165	law	lawe
166	less	lasse, lesse
167	-less	-les, -lis
168	lie	
169	life	life (( lyfe ))
170	little	litil (( litel ))
171	live <u>v.</u>	lyue[-] (( leue ))
172	lord	lorde (( lord ))
173	love <u>sb.</u>	loue
174	love <u>v.</u>	loue
175	low	lowe, low-
176	-ly	-ly
177	may <u>v.</u>	may (( mai )) ; <u>2sg</u> maist

## Key word Forms for entry

178	month	
179	moon	
180	mother	moder' (( modre ))
181	'mon' <u>etc.</u>	
182	my + <u>cons.</u>	my
183	my + <u>h</u>	myne
184	my + <u>vow.</u>	myne (myn)
185	name <u>sb.</u>	name
186	neither (of)	neither, neber
187	neither (nor)	neiber
188	-ness	-nes
189	never	neuer
190	new	new
191	nigh	nyghe (nys)
192	nine	
193	ninth	
194	north	
195	now	now
196	old	olde
197	one <u>adj.</u>	one
198	one <u>pron.</u>	one
199	or	or
200	other	oher
201	ought	ought[en]
202	our	our
203	out	out



## Key word    Forms for entry

204	own <u>adj.</u>	own
205	people	peple (( pepil ))
206	poor	poor[e], pore
207	pray	pray (pray-)
208	run	
209	say <u>pres.</u>	sey, sai- (( say[-] ))
210	say <u>pt.</u> <u>etc.</u>	said, sayd[e], seyd
211	see <u>pres.</u>	se[-]
212	see <u>pt.</u> <u>etc.</u>	seghe; seen <u>ppl.</u>
213	seek	seke, sek-
214	self	silf (( self ))
215	seven	seuen
216	seventh	seueneth (( seuenyth ))
217	-ship	-shyp
218	sin <u>sb.</u>	syme (syn, <u>synn</u> )
219	sin <u>v.</u>	synn~, syne
220	sister	
221	six	six[e]
222	sixth	sixt
223	some	some (( sum, <u>summe</u> ))
224	son	sone
225	sorrow <u>sb.</u>	sorowe
226	sorrow <u>v.</u>	sorow
227	soul	soule
228	south	
229	star	

## Key word    Forms for entry

230	stead	sted-
231	sun	
232	ten	
233	tenth	teneth
234	thee	þe
235	third	thrid
236	thou	þou
237	thousand	thousand-
238	three	thre
239	thy + <u>cons.</u>	þi ((thy))
240	thy + <u>h</u>	þine ((thyne))
241	thy + <u>vow.</u>	þin[e] ((thyn))
242	together	to-gedur, to-gedir
243	true	trew-
244	twelfth	
245	twelve	
246	twenty	
247	two	two, tweyne
248	upon	vpon ((upon))
249	'wate' (know)	
250	way	wey
251	week	
252	well <u>adv.</u>	welo
253	went	went
254	whether	wheþer ((wheþir))
255	hither	

## Key word Forms for ontry

- 256 thither
- 257 whither whedir
- 258 why why (( whi ))
- 259 without adv.
- 260 without pr. w<sup>t</sup>outen, without(( en )) (( withoute,  
with-out, w<sup>t</sup>-out ))
- 261 worship sb. worship(e) (wors hype)
- 262 worship v. [-]worship[-], worshyp[-]
- 263 worse worse
- 264 ye ye (( yee ))
- 265 year yere
- 266 you yow
- 267 young
- 268 your your, yor
- 269
- 270

Here appended to this profile of Ed is a shorter list of forms indicative of Midland and Central Midland scribal dialects.<sup>12</sup>

#### Midland and Central Midland Dialectal Characteristics

##### Midland indicators

Key word	Form(s)
they	þei (( thei, þe ))
them	hem
their	her (( here ))
each	eche
are	bene (( ben ))
<u>pres. 3sg.</u>	-ith (-eth) (( -yth ))
<u>pres. pl.</u>	-en (( -yn ))

##### Central Midland discriminators

such	suche, siche
each	eche
any	eny
much	myche
are	bene (( ben ))
after	aftir, after <u>e</u> (( after ))

---

<sup>12</sup> This list was compiled with the help of Michael Benskin. For maps of some Central Midland forms see M.L. Samuels, 'Some applications...', pp. 404-418.

if	if (( Iff ))
before <u>c.</u>	
strength	strenkeþ (( strenkith, strenkþ- ))
nor	ne (( nor ))
think	thynk-, thenk- (( þenk ))
<u>sb.</u> <u>pl.</u>	-es, -is (-s) (( -ys ))
might <u>v.</u>	myght (( myghten ))
through	þorough (( through, þorous, þorowgh ))
ask	ax-
both	boiþe (boyth, boithe, boþe, boiþ)
either (of)	eipir
eye <u>pl.</u>	yʒen, yʒes, ieyn, iyen
father	fadre (fader, fadir)
mother	moder (( modre ))
neither (nor)	neip̃er
old	olde
or	or
say <u>pt.</u> <u>etc.</u>	said, sayd[e], seyd
self	silf (( self ))
stead	sted-
thousand	thousand-
well <u>adv.</u>	welc

- 1 Here ... anselme (1. 2)] heere is a good meditacion,  
the which seynt anselme maade US; S. Austine is  
seyng<sup>e</sup> Ar; om. T. þe meditacions] a moditacioun L<sub>1</sub>L;  
þe meditacioun CbG<sub>2</sub>.
- 3 My] O my Cb. sore] so sore G<sub>2</sub>. whan] UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>Ar;  
om. Ed.
- 4 serche it bisely] bisyli enserche it UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 5 me] om. L. eiper] om. Cb. in] om. UST<sub>1</sub>CbAr.
- 6 wele nyghe] duryng<sup>e</sup> Ar.
- 7 eny ... seen] þeer be seyn eny fruyt UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; þer  
hathe ben þat any frute hathe be founde Ar. it is]  
is hit S; om. it Cb.
- 8 þan as] þanne but as it weere UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; þanne as it  
were Cb; but as it were Ar. or] & G<sub>2</sub>. vnperfit<sup>e</sup>]   
inparfit SUT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L.
- 9 eiper] om. Cb.
- 10 god] god purely Ar. shuld] schulde do UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.  
els] eiper ellis Cb. it fully displesith] fully it  
displesith Cb; om. fully L.
- 11 hym] om. Cb.
- 12 þi ... eiper (1. 13)] thynke þat þi lyf felethe  
nought, for Ar. þi life not] not þi liif L<sub>1</sub>. nyghe]  
ner L.
- 13 in] om. Ar. syn] synfull Ar.
- 14 dispisable ... and (1. 15)] om. L. wher to] þen  
where for Ar.
- 15 departison] SUT<sub>1</sub>; a deperteson Ar; a departinge Cb;  
departsom L<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>; deparsum Ed. bytwix] bitwene  
USCbAr.
- 16 for it is] or hit is Cb. certeyn] a certeine Cb.  
trewth] god L; crist Ar.
- 17 sayde] seiþ G<sub>2</sub>Ar. hymself] himself in þe gospel,  
Omnis arbor qui non facit fructum bonum excidetur,  
et in ignem mittetur. That is to seyn UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr  
(see Notes for variants within addition). makith]  
bereth UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>Ar.
- 18 not] no LAr. shalbe] it schal be T<sub>1</sub>Ar.

Here bigynneth þe medita

[f. 90<sup>r</sup>]

cions of seynt anselme.

5 **M**y life ferith me sore for [whan] I  
 serche it bisely it semyth to  
 me eieþer in syn or without  
 fr'u'yte wele nyghe all my life. And if  
 eny tyme eny fruyt be seen þerin, yit it  
 is þan as feyned or vnperfite, or in some  
 maner corrupte, so þat eieþer it may not plesse  
 10 god as it shuld, or els it fully displesith  
 hym. Therefore now þou synful wriche  
 þi life not wele nyghe all, but fully all,  
 eieþer it is in syn & dampnable, or it is vn- [f. 90<sup>v</sup>]  
 fruytful and dis isable. But wher to make  
 15 I [departison] bytwix vnfruytful and damp-  
 nable, for it is certeyn & trew þat tre-  
 wth sayde hymself, Euery tre þat makith  
 not good fruyt shalbe cut down & cast

- 19 into] in L. þe] om. G<sub>2</sub>. Verrily] And verrelliche  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>Cb. Verrily ... men (1.30)] Ar: see Appendix  
I.
- 20 do] do outrelly UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>; ouctirly L; vttirly G<sub>2</sub>.  
account ... nought] accountid not good fruyt L<sub>1</sub>. at]  
om. UST<sub>1</sub>L; as Cb.
- 21 body] my body Cb.
- 22 But] ffor whi Cb. who] who is he þat Cb.
- 23 myche] MS. myshe. it] om. Cb.
- 24 coste] costib G<sub>2</sub>. wasteth UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; schalle waste  
Cb. O] And set neuertheles UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. &] om.  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>.
- 25 an] þin UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 26 synne] synne, and wel I may seie stynkyng in synne  
UT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>. ffor ... men (1. 30)] om. Cb.
- 27 to] vnto T<sub>1</sub>.
- 28 þan a] þan is a UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>. to] vnto T<sub>1</sub>.
- 29 lathesome] wlatsum UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>.
- 30 is] om. G<sub>2</sub>.
- 31 clepe] say Ar. þe] y Ar. no] om. L<sub>1</sub>; an no Ar.
- 32 vile] fouler Cb.
- 33 and] om. G<sub>2</sub>. þan caryen] þan a careyne UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.  
My] Myn L<sub>1</sub>.
- 35 for to] to Cb. þou] I UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 36 þou] y Ar. now do] do now G<sub>2</sub>. O þou synner] om.  
Ar O] And U; A ST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>; om. LCbG<sub>2</sub>.
- 37 certis] sertenly Ar. not] no Cb. þat] 'þat' S;  
om. L<sub>1</sub>L. þat all] alle þat Cb. life] lyf at dyuerse  
tymys Ar.
- 38 all ... is (1. 39)] Ar: see Appendix I. þat it]  
at 'it' L<sub>1</sub>. all wepe] om. all G<sub>2</sub>; al þou vnkepe Cb.
- 39 also] om. G<sub>2</sub>. soule] sowle is Ar. wondirfully  
wrechid (1. 40)] wrecchidly wondirful, and wonderfully  
wrecchede UST<sub>1</sub>L; wrecchidely synfully & wonderfully  
wrecchide L<sub>1</sub>; wrecchidli wondirfully and wondirfully  
wrecched Cb.



into þe fire. Verrily what profitable  
 20 thyng þat I do I account it at nought  
 forto answere to þe sustynance of body  
 þat I mysuse. But who fedith eny beste  
 þe whiche profitithe not as my[c]he as it  
 coste? O mercyful god þou norishyst & fedist  
 25 & abydist an vnprofitable worme and  
 stynkyng in synne, ffor withouten compary-  
 son more suffrable is a roten hound to  
 men þan a synful soule to god, and myche  
 more lathesome is siche a soule to god  
 30 þan is siche a hound to men. Alas alas  
 now may I clepe þe no man but shame  
 and repreue of all men more vile þan a  
 beste and worse þan caryen. My soule  
 is sore anoied of my life, I am sore  
 35 ashamed for to lyue and dye dar þou not, [f. 91<sup>r</sup>]  
 þerfore what shalt þou now do? O þou synner  
 certis not but þat all þi life þou wepe  
 all þi life, so þat it all wepe it all. But  
 yit in þis also is þi synful soule wondir-

- 41 so] as Ar. or myght know] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 42 þat] om. Ar. For þi ... right (1. 47)] om. Cb.  
For þi] But þus UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; and 'it' Ar. siker] om.  
Ar.
- 43 right as] om. right S; as thowe Ar. what] what þat  
L.
- 44 is] were UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>Ar. doist] thynkest Ar. þan] þou  
UST<sub>1</sub>Ar; now L<sub>1</sub>; om. L.
- 45 Why ... soule (1. 46)] om. L. sloughte] slough  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>Ar.
- 46 synful] þow synful UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>; to do gode dedus þou  
synfulle Ar. of dome] of þi doom UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr. commeth]  
comethe fast apon þe Ar.
- 47 right ... is (1. 48)] om. Ar. right] om Cb. þe ...  
ny; (1. 48)] om. US. þe lorde] oure lord T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 48 is] It is T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>Ar. in his] om. L<sub>1</sub>.
- 49 A ... þat day] þat is þe day of wrethe Ar. wrath]  
waþe Cb. is þat] it is þat G<sub>2</sub>. a] þe Ar.
- 50 of] om. G<sub>2</sub>. a] þe Ar.
- 51 a day of myst ... clarionyng (1. 53)] a daie of  
trompe and claronyng, a daie of mist and of derkenes,  
a daie of cloude & of whirlewynde G<sub>2</sub>. a] þe Ar.
- 52 a] þe Ar. cloude] cloudis Ar. whirlewynde] whorelle  
wyndis Ar.
- 53 a] þe Ar. trumpe] trumpetis Ar. clarionyng]  
clarnoris Ar.
- 54 bitter] sharpe & kene Ar. þat ... þe (1. 55)] owre  
lorde Ar. þat] þe UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 55 Whi ... deed (1. 59)] Ar: see Appendix I. slepist  
þou] slepist þou þow UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>Cb.
- 56 lathyd] wlated UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>.
- 57 Who] ffor who UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 59 slepith] slepis not at so grette a þounder, certis  
he slepiþ not Cb. lyuyng] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 60 tree] tree, wheer been þi [þey Cb] fruytes. Thow  
tree UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>; tre, where bethe þe gode frutis  
þat þou bringgiste furthe, þou tre Ar. art] were L.

40 fully wrechid by cause þat it sorowith not  
 so myche as it knowith, or myght know  
 þat it shulde. For þi it slepith siker in  
 slouthe right as it knew not what it  
 is worthy to suffre. What doist þou, þan  
 45 bareyn soule? Why art þou so sloughte  
 synful soule? þe day of dome commeth it  
 is right nyghe, þe grete day of þe lorde  
 is ful nyȝ and swifte in his commynge:  
 A day of wrath is þat day, a day of trow-  
 50 ble and of angwyshe, a day of care &  
 of wrechidnes, a day of myst and of  
 derknes, a day of cloude and of whirle-  
 wynde, a day of trumpe and of clario-  
 nyng. O þat bitter voic of þat dredeful  
 55 day of þe lorde. Whi slepist þou synful  
 soule and worthy to be lathyd, Why  
 slepist þou? Who so wakith not and who [f. 91<sup>v</sup>]  
 so quakithe not at so grete a thundre, cer-  
 tis he slepith not but he lyuynge is deed.  
 60 þou vnfruytful tree, þat art worthy

- 61 and ... brent] & to be cast into þe fyre & brente  
Ar.
- 62 Soythly] certis Cb; truly Ar. þou haste] þei  
bethe. Ar.
- 63 not] no noþer Ar. þat is] and UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 64 þe ... god (1. 86)] om. Cb. wolde god þat] þat  
wolde god Ar.
- 65 þorough] by UST<sub>1</sub>LAr. þorough forthynkyng] byfor  
þenkyng L<sub>1</sub>. forthynkyng] sore contricion &  
repentans Ar.
- 66 broken] alto brokyn Ar. in þe] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr. and  
wold god þat] And so schulden US.
- 67 wold] om. US; might Ar. so bitter in þe] to þe so  
bittre US. in þe] om. T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. þou] þei US. woldest]  
schulden US; alle way 'miȝte' Ar.
- 68 spit hem from þe] vanyssche away US; spitte hem  
away T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>; spit hem away L; spete þem owte fro  
þe Ar. gessist] wenest UST<sub>1</sub>LAr; woldest L<sub>1</sub>.
- 69 some] eny US; þi Ar. be] alle way 'be' Ar. litel]  
but litulle Ar. þat] om. T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr.
- 70 wold] om. US. eny] euery L<sub>1</sub>.
- 71 is it] hit is SLG<sub>2</sub>Ar. soyth] so UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr. þat ...  
liti1 (1. 75)] Ar: see Appendix I.
- 72 by] MS. be; be L<sub>1</sub>. goddis hestys] þe heste of  
god T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>. vnworshippith] vnworschiþ G<sub>2</sub>.
- 73 yis what] om. yis S.
- 74 þan dar] þerfore dar T<sub>1</sub>; dar þanne L. a] eny US.  
is] þat is UST<sub>1</sub>; þat it is L. whan he vnworshippith]  
whanne it vnworchipiþ LG<sub>2</sub>; whan to vnworschiþe T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>;  
forte vnworschiþe U; for forte vnworschiþe S.
- 75 how] whanne UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. is it] it is LG<sub>2</sub>; om. it L<sub>1</sub>.
- 76 tree and vnprofitable] and vnprofitable tree US.  
worthy] and worþi Ar. to] om. Ar.
- 77 what ... answe] what aunswere wylte þou geue Ar.  
answe] MS. as answe.
- 78 þat] þilke US. day] dredefulle day Ar. whan ... at  
(1. 79)] om. Ar.
- 79 at þe] to þe UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; for with þe Ar. all ... god  
(1. 86)] Ar: see Appendix I.

an ax and a fire, worthy to be kitt & brent,  
 where bene þi fruytes? Soythly þou haste  
 not by prickynge thornes, þat is bitter  
 synnes, þe whiche wolde god þat þei prickid  
 65 þe so sore þorough forthynkyng þat þei  
 wer broken, in þe, and wold god þat þei  
 wold wex so bitter in þe þat þou woldest  
 spit hem from þe. Perauenture þou gessist  
 þat some syn be litel, but wold god þat  
 70 þe streyt domesman wold hold eny syn  
 litil. But alas is it not soyth þat all syn  
 by brekyng of goddis hestys vnworship-  
 pith god? Yis sikerly yis what synne  
 þan dar a synner sey is litil? Whan he vn-  
 75 worshippith god how is it litil? O þou  
 dry tree and vnprofitable worthy to  
euerlastynge fire, what shalt þou an-  
 swere in þat day whan it shalbe axid  
 of þe at þe twynkylyng of an yse all [f. 92<sup>r</sup>]

- 80 of þi life] of lyuyngge geuen to þe UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. þou]  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>; om. Ed. hast] hast spen L.
- 81 soythly] om. US.
- 82 foundyn] founden in þee L<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>. of yuel] om. UST<sub>1</sub>  
L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>.
- 83 in] of UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>. slouth] 'slouf' L. speche] woord  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L.
- 84 also more nyghe þan (1. 85)] and of alle þat US.
- 85 þan] þat T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. lyued] i-lyued US.
- 87 shal] schullen UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>. shal brest] þer wille  
aryse & breste Ar. out] vp UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>Ar. vnwarned]  
without warnyngge UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; without any warnyngge Ar.
- 89 whiche] þe whiche UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. knowist] seest UST<sub>1</sub>  
L<sub>1</sub>LCb; seiste fulle litulle Ar. not] om. Ar.
- 90 Certis ... suffrid (1. 100)] Ar: see Appendix I.  
moo] fer moo UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>CbG<sub>2</sub>; fe'1' mo L. ferdeful]  
gryslly US.
- 91 þene þies] been þilke U; þulke ben S. synnes]  
om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. knowist] seest UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; seest þe Cb.
- 92 synnes] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>Cb. gessist] wenest UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.  
now] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 93 not in charge] not euele SUT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. how] þhe how Cb.  
dedis] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 94 þou] om. G<sub>2</sub>. gessist] wenest UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. now be]  
ben now Cb. openly] with open visage UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.  
shal] schullen UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>.
- 95 moste derk] altherderkest US; most derkest L<sub>1</sub>LCb;  
derkeste T<sub>1</sub>. for] Theere UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 96 dowte] om. Cb. þerin] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 97 body & soule] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. haste] om. G<sub>2</sub>. hem]  
heere UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 98 in body] in þi bodi T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; with þi body US. Than  
as now] for þanne as now is Cb. not] not be tyme of  
mercy. Thanne as now schal no UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; not be tyme  
of mercy neiþer þanne as now is schalle no Cb.
- 101 art ... resseyue] shalte resseue Ar. what ... do  
(1. 102)] om. Ar.
- 102 do] doen L. þou ... þe (1. 103)] þei been UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.

- 80 þe tyme of þi life how [þou] hast dispendid  
 it? þan soythly it shal be dampned in þe  
 what so euer may be foundyn of yuel  
 in werk or of slouth, of speche, or of si-  
 lence to þe leste thought, yee also more
- 85 nyghe þan þou haste lyued if it haue not  
 be dressid to þe wil of god. Alas how  
 many synnes shal brest out þere vnwar-  
 red as it wer enemyes li gynge in a-  
 wayte whiche þou knowist not now?
- 90 Certis moo and h p ily more ferdeful  
 þan bene þies synnes þat þou knowist  
 now. How many synnes þou gessist now  
 bene not in charge? ow many dedis  
 þou gessist now be good openly shal þan
- 95 shew hem to þe moste derk synnes? For  
 without dowte þou shalt resseyue þerin  
 body & soule as þou haste wroght hem  
 in body. Than as n w shal not for-  
 thynkyng be resseyued, ne eny amend-
- 100 ment suffrid. T ynke erfore here what  
 þou art worthy to resseyue þor and what [f. 92<sup>v</sup>]  
 þou haste do. If þou through goddis

- 103 goodis] gode dedis Ar.
- 104 yuels] eville Ar. þat ... not (1. 109)] make muche  
loye. ȝif þei [þer L] ben mony [om. U] eueles  
[eville Ar] and fewe goodes mak muche serve  $UST_1L_1L$   
CbAr. cunnyng &] om.  $G_2$ .
- 108 sorow]  $G_2$ .
- 109 0]  $L_1$ : space left for capital.
- 110 wrechid] vnprofitable  $UST_1L_1LCb$ ; om. Ar. wheþer]  
where Ar. thynges] warnynges Ar.
- 111 in þe] om. Ar. hidous] hydousnesse Cb.
- 112 grete] om. Ar. sorow] gronyng [gronynges L] in sorwe  
 $UST_1L_1L$ ; grownyng and sorowe [sorwys Ar] CbAr.  
wheþer] where Ar.
- 113 to draw] forto drawe  $UST_1L_1L$ Ar. out of] fro Ar.  
þe] om. Ar. merow] merþe  $T_1$ Ar.
- 114 & ... wepynges] & lerne to dye Ar. wepynges] wepynges  
 $UST_1L_1LCb$ . cursid] for cursed Ar.
- 115 wrechid ... hamers (1. 116)] grose & hevy synnis þat  
þes hameris Ar. whiche] þe whiche  $UST_1L_1LCb$ . þus]  
þat L.
- 116 hamers] om. Cb. for to breke] to bete downe Ar. 0]  
And SAR.
- 117 ouer dullyd] dede Ar. whiche] þe whiche  $UST_1LCb$ ;  
whiche þe  $L_1$ ; þat Ar. þus] þese  $G_2$ Ar.
- 118 for to] to Ar. stirre] fere  $G_2$ ; a wake up Ar.  
Alas] Allas allas L.
- 119 whiche] þe which  $UST_1L_1LCb$ ; for þe whiche Ar;  
whiche is  $G_2$ . so] þus  $L_1LCb$ ; þis Ar.
- 120 ferdeful] grisly US; om. Ar. a] om.  $L$ Ar. is]  $G_2$ ;  
see 1. 119. to horse] a hors  $G_2$ ; ordeynyd Ar.  
for to] for L; to Ar.
- 121 caitife synner] vnprofitable synnere  $UST_1L_1LCb$ Ar.  
þese] ynou; þise  $UST_1L_1LCb$ .
- 122 be to þe] be 'y'nowe to þe Ar. cause ... But (1. 125)]  
Ar: see Appendix I. cause] om.  $UST_1L_1LCb$ . euer]  
euere euere U. to] forto  $UST_1L_1LCbG_2$ .
- 123 sorow] waymentyng US. and] om.  $UST_1L_1L$ .



grace fyndyst in þe many goodis and few  
 yuels þat þou ne haste after þi cunnyng &  
 105 power amendid hem þou haste þan grete  
 cause to ioy, but loke þi ioy be temperid with  
 drede. And if þou perseyuest in þe many yuels  
 & few goodis þou haste cause of myche [sorrow]  
 but of goddis mercy dispeyre þou not. O  
 110 þou wrechid synner wheþer þese thynges  
 sufficen not to þe to make in þe hidous  
 and grete sorow, wheþer these thyngys  
 sufficen not to þe to draw out of þe me-  
 row & blode in wepyng, cursid be þat  
 115 wrechid hardnes whiche þus heuy  
 hamers bene to light for to breke. O  
 þat ouer dullyd slewth whiche þus sharp  
 prickis bene to blont for to stirre. Alas  
 for sorow of þat dede slepe whiche so  
 120 ferdeful a thundir is to horse for to a-  
 wake. O þou caitife synner þese thyng-  
 es shuld be to þe cause euer to continew  
 in sorow and þese thynges oughten [f. 93<sup>r</sup>]

- 124 for to] to USLCb. to þe] þee US. euermore] euer  
Cb. to] forto Cb. bysely] om. L<sub>1</sub>Cb.
- 125 wepynge] wepynges USCb. shal] shulde Ar. I ... stil  
(1. 126)] y be faynyngly stille Ar.
- 126 be] om. L<sub>1</sub>. and] om. Ar. steyle] to stele Ar.  
from] fro UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>Ar.
- 127 of þe ... silf (1. 136)] Ar: see Appendix I.
- 128 gretnes] þe gretnesse UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. youthe] þoust T<sub>1</sub>.  
peyne] þe peyne L<sub>1</sub>.
- 129 whiche] þe whiche UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. rise] þanne aryse US  
T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. auysement] eny auysement UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>.
- 130 hastely] hastif UST<sub>1</sub>L; hasty L<sub>1</sub>Cb. wondirfull]  
so wonderful UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>Cb.
- 132 Certys ... silf (1. 136)] om. Cb. wrechid] wykkede  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L.
- 133 þis] þese G<sub>2</sub>. spedith] spe'k'iþ L. to] om. L.
- 134 if] þou; US. it may not] ȝet may it not US.
- 135 rekened] lykned UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub>. yuel] þing UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. it]  
hym L.
- 136 Þerfore] And þerfore US.
- 137 nyght] 'nist' Ar. and ... maist (1. 138)] to redeme  
þe false forfeitis of þi fraelle yowthe Ar. be] to be  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. þou without sorow] stille UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 138 If ... maist] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 139 weght] to weiste UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. sorow] & sorwe UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>  
G<sub>2</sub>Ar.
- 140 ferdnes vpon ferdnes] and fere a þon fere Ar. woo]  
and woo UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr; and, [om. woo]Cb.
- 141 for] ffor whi T<sub>1</sub>CbAr. fallith] belongethe Ar.
- 142 to] for to T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. what ... wrathid (1. 151)]  
Ar: see Appendix I. trespassour] trespassed L.
- 143 eny] om. US. þe] om. Cb.
- 144 euer] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. to] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. me] us Cb.
- 145 And ... yolden] And to whom I ȝelde UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; and to  
whom we ȝelden aȝen Cb.

for to suffice to þe euermore to snobbe by-  
 125 sely in wepyng. But wherto shal I fey-  
 nyngly be stil, and steyle any thyng from  
 þe ysen of my soule of þe heuynes and  
 gretnes of my wrechid youthe, in payne  
 of whiche þer shal rise withouten auyse-  
 130 ment so hastely sorows & wondirfull  
 woois þat sodeynly of hem þer shal grow  
 an vnsuffrable tempest. Certys þou wrechid  
 synner all þis spedith not to þe & neþeles  
 if I sey all þat I may thynke, it may not  
 135 by rekened to þat, þat þe yuel is in it  
 silf. Þerfore let þine ysen wepe by day &  
 by nyght and neuer be þou without sorow.  
 If þou bithynke þe wele þou maist put  
 weght vpon weght, sorow vpon sorow,  
 140 ferdnes vpon ferdnes, woo vpon woo.  
 For he shal deme þe to whome it fallith  
 to punyshe what þat eny trespassour  
 or eny inobedient to god synneth, þe  
 whiche hathe euer yolden to me good for  
 145 yuel. And I to hym haue euer yolden yuel [f. 93<sup>v</sup>]

- 146 moste] þe mooste UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 147 moste] þe mooste UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 148 moste] þe mooste UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; is þe mooste Cb. &] om. UST<sub>1</sub>. moste] þe mooste UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; schal be þe moost Cb.
- 149 Alias] Alias alias UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>. good] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 150 þe] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>.
- 151 wrathid] wrappiþ G<sub>2</sub>. O] A ST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>.
- 152 done] doo, To whom haue I doo USL<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. how ... doon] om. T<sub>1</sub>. how] and how CbAr.
- 153 þe wrath] þow wratthe UST<sub>1</sub>Cb. almyghty] almyghti pour of god Ar. I ... it<sup>1</sup> (1. 154)] om. UT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. I ... allmyghty (1. 156)] om. S.
- 154 fall] falle þow not UT<sub>1</sub>LCb; falle not L<sub>1</sub>Ar. vpon] on Cb. O ... me (1. 155)] om. UT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 155 þou] þe G<sub>2</sub>.
- 156 þe] om. Cb. allmyghty] moste dredefulleste domysman Ar. þou] þi ponisshe<sup>ment</sup> Ar.
- 157 Certis] for Ar. me] al me UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>Ar.
- 158 þe] 'þe' L; om. Ar. O] A ST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; om. Ar. angwishes] angwysse of þe Ar.
- 159 & noies] and þe annuyes UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; and þe noies Cb; and anoies G<sub>2</sub>; om. Ar. in crist dome] in cristis dome G<sub>2</sub>. om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; in þat day of þi grete dome Ar. shal be] schullen þanne bee US; þanne schulen T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>Cb; þanne schulde be L. 'Vp' on þe] For on þat US; ffor on þe Ar; On þat T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 160 oon] to G<sub>2</sub>; tone Ar. vpon] on UT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; And on S; & in Ar.
- 161 þat] þe Ar. rightwisnes] ristfulnesse UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr. sore] me sore Ar.
- 162 open] þe opene UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 163 aboue] aboue þe Cb. wrathful] most dredefulle Ar. within] within þe Ar.
- 164 ferynge] fretynge G<sub>2</sub>; smertynge UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. withoute] And withoute UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; And wiþoute þee CbAr.

for good, þe whiche is now moste suffryng  
and þan shalbe moste vengynge, now  
moste mercyful, & þan moste rightful.

Alas to whome haue I synned good god?

- 150 I haue vnworshippid þe. Þe allmyghty  
I haue wrathid. O, I wrechid synner what  
haue I done, how yuel haue I doon? Alas  
þe wrath of þe almyghty, I haue deser-  
uyd þat it fall vpon me. O good god
- 155 þi mercy let it fall vpon me, þou wrath  
of þe allmyghty where maist þou beta-  
ken in me. Certis þer is no thyng in me  
þat may suffre þe. O þe angwishes  
& noies þat in crist dome shal be. 'Vp'on þe
- 160 oon side shalbe synnes accusynge, vpon  
þat oþer side streit rightwisnes sore afe-  
rynge, bynethe open derknes of hell,  
aboue þe wrathful domes man, within  
a ferynge conscience, withoute þe bren-

- 165 vnupis] vnneþes & of hard  $T_1L_1L$ ; and so vnneþis and of hard Cb; þat ful vnneþe & of harde Ar. þan] om.  $UST_1L_1LCbAr$ . þe] a Cb. rightwiseman] ristful man Cb; ristwys US.
- 166 O] A  $UST_1L_1LCb$ ; Alas þen a Ar. þou wrechid] om.  $UST_1L_1LCbAr$ .
- 167 ensegid ... þus (1. 168)] om. L. ensegid] bisegeð US; þat is þus by segyd Ar. of ... constreyned (1. 168)] om. Ar. of ... þe (1. 168)] in what partie schal he holde hym  $T_1L_1Cb$ ; where schal he holde hym US. of] on  $G_2$ .
- 168 shall] maist  $G_2$ .
- 169 þou] I  $UST_1L_1LCb$ ; he Ar. þe] me  $UST_1L_1LCb$ ; hym Ar. O] om.  $UST_1L_1LCb$ ; or Ar. I] he Ar. appere] MS. ~~appeire~~ appere.
- 170 impossible] vnpossyble  $LCbAr$ .
- 172 where] placis Ar. no place] nowhere  $UST_1L_1LCbAr$ .
- 173 I shal] om.  $UST_1LAr$ . shal] om.  $L_1$ . fynde] fynde it  $UST_1L_1LCbAr$ . I ... agrise] and sore y schalle agrise Cb. I] me  $UST_1L_1L$ . shal] shalbe Ar. sore] om.  $UST_1L_1L$ . agrise] ashamyd Ar.
- 174 and ... present] om.  $L_1$ . O] A  $UST_1L_1LCbAr$ . he] om.  $T_1Ar$ .
- 175 fro] for  $L_1$ . wrathid] 'the' dredefulle Iuge Ar.
- 176 where ... help (1. 177)] where schal I haue helthe; Where schal I haue counseyl US. where ... counsell] om. L.
- 177 where ... help] om. Ar. help] helpe  $T_1L_1LCb$ . who ... wounde (1. 178)] om.  $UST_1L_1LCbAr$ . help] heele  $G_2$ .
- 178 he] 'he'  $L_1$ . þat is] þat 'is'  $L$ ; om. is  $L_1$ . clepid] called Ar. þe aungel (1. 179)] om. Cb.
- 179 þe] om.  $UST_1L_1LCbG_2Ar$  counsell] conceil where schalle \* haue helpe Cb. which] þe whiche  $UST_1L_1LAr$ .
- 180 clepid] called Ar. sauour] þe sauour Cb. of] on  $UST_1L_1LG_2$ ; vppoun Cb; in Ar.
- 181 Certis] truly Ar. þis is] it is  $UST_1L_1LCbAr$ . he] be Cb; for he Ar.

- 165 nyngē world, vnūpis þan þe rightwise-  
 man shalbe saued. O þou wrechid synner  
 þus ensegid, of what party maist þou draw [f. 94<sup>r</sup>]  
 or hold þe þus constreyned, where shall  
 þou hide þe? O how shal I appere  
 170 for to hide me? It shalbe impossible, and  
 for to appere it shalbe vnsuffrable. I  
 shall seche where to hide me, but no pla-  
 ce I shal fynde I shal sore agrise to appe-  
 re and euer I shalbe present. O who is he  
 175 þat shal delyuer me fro þe handis of wra-  
 thid god? Where shal I haue conseil?  
 Where shal I haue help, who shal help  
 my wounde? Who is he þat is clepid þe  
 aungel of þe greit counseil whiche  
 180 is clepid sauour þat I may cry of his  
 name: Certis þis is Ihesu; he hymself is

- 182 so] om. LAr. sore] moste Ar. O ... & (1. 186)]  
 Looke vp þerfore asen now þow synnere USAr; Loke vp  
 asen þerfore now þu synnere T<sub>1</sub>; loke vp þerfor.  
 asenwarde now þou synnere L<sub>1</sub>L; looke up now þerfore  
 þou synner Cb.
- 186 soule] synner G<sub>2</sub>.
- 187 stedfast] good UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. þou] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb;  
 þe Ar. hope] but hope Ar.
- 188 hym] hem L<sub>1</sub>; Ihesu Cb. moste] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.  
 dredist moste] dreddest UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 189 from] om. Ar.
- 190 vpon] þou upon Cb. hertly & contynuely] meekly  
 UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. for] of S. mercy] mercy & grace Ar.
- 191 moste offendid] soore agreued by pruyde US; soore  
 agreued wip pride T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; soore greuyd w<sup>th</sup> syn Ar.  
 meke ... hestis (1. 194)] om. Cb. meke ... sey  
 (1. 195)] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr.
- 195 sey] þanne seie to him þus Cb. Ihesu] þerfor ihesu  
 Ar. name] holy name Ar.
- 196 name] holy name Ar. Ihesu] ihesu do to me ihesu  
 after þi name Ihesu Cb. Fforyet] ffor þef SLAr.  
 not ... name (1. 201)] now ihesu þis proude trespassour  
 and [but Cb] bihold with mercy þis [þus Cb] wrecche  
 clepyng þi naame. Thy sweete naame. Thy [om. L<sub>1</sub>]  
 delitable [delectable Cb] naame. Naame [om. L] of  
 comfort to synneres UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; Ar: see Appendix I.  
 not me] me not G<sub>2</sub>.
- 200 þi comfortable name] þi swete name. þi comfortable  
 name G<sub>2</sub>.
- 201 moste] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 202 blessid] swetteste Ar. for] for synneris Ar.
- 203 holy name] owene self UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. saue] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>  
 LCbAr.
- 204 me ... þe] be to me ihesu UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>; be to vs ihesus  
 L; be to me sauour Ar.
- 205 of noght] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. let] suffur Ar. Ihesu  
 ... Ihesu (1. 211)] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.



þe iuge whom I drede so sore. O þou  
 synful soule be þou comfortid. O soule why  
 art þou so drery and trowblest me? Hope  
 185 þou in god for yit I shal knowlege to hym,  
 bihold þou caitif soule, biholde & be of  
 stedfast hope, & dispere þou not; hope  
 in hym moste whome þou drest moste;  
 flee to hym from whome þou fleddist; cry [f. 94<sup>v</sup>]  
 190 vpon hym hertly & contynuely for mercy  
 whome þou haste moste offendid; make  
 þe to hym ayens whome þou haste bene  
 proude; cleue to hym fro whome þou haste  
 depertyd þe; withstondynge his hestis &  
 195 sey Ihesu, Ihesu, for þi name Ihesu do to me  
 after þi name Ihesu. Fforyet not me Ihesu  
 out of þi proteccion, þough I haue be a gnete  
 trespassour. Ihesu biholde me with þe  
 yes of þi mercy, inwardly clepyng þi  
 200 name, þi comfortable name, to synners  
 þe moste delitable name and of moste  
 blessid hope, for what is Ihesu to sey but  
 sauour þerfore Ihesu for þi holy name saue  
 me, tristynge in þe þou þat madist me  
 205 of noght, let me not perishe. Ihesu accepte  
 my wil, þough my wordis be lewid, for  
 I knowleche in trewth þat I neither can  
 ne may inclepe þin help, neither deserue  
 to haue it, but of þi speciall grace, but  
 210 for I can not as I shulde. I recommande

- 212 haue ... and (1. 213)] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 213 let] suffur Ar. it neuer] me not UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>CbAr; me  
L. be dampned] to be dampnyd Ar.
- 214 þou] she þou Cb. Ihesu] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.
- 215 godenes] greet goodnes Cb. let] suffur Ar. perishe] to perissahe Ar. þorough] þorous Cb.
- 216 mooste] þe mooste UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 218 þat] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. þine almyghty] þ<sup>u</sup><sub>^</sub>almy<sub>^</sub>sti//  
þin L. þine ... made] þou haste so dure bou[gh]te Ar.
- 219 for þi godenes] i beseche þee UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LAr; y beseche  
Cb. know þat] and knowe and kepe þou in as al þat  
Cb; to know þat Ar.
- 220 þat] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. is þine] þin is UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.  
wipe away] wipe it away UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. clene] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>  
LCbAr.
- 221 þat] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. is ouris] alle wickednes þat  
comeþ of vs Cb. ouris] ootheres UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>Ar. Ihesu] O ihesu Cb. mercy ... handwerke (1. 222)] haue mercy  
UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L; haue merci on vs Cb; on me haue mercy Ar.
- 222 tyme ... mercy] it is tyme of mercy L<sub>1</sub>; tyme of  
mercy is Cb.
- 223 me not] not me CbG<sub>2</sub>Ar. me] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>. tyme] þe  
tyme Cb. dome] dreedful doome Cb.
- 224 shalbe] shalle hit be Ar. þe] me Cb. in ... shall  
(1. 225)] to se me Ar.
- 225 or lesyng] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. descende] descende downe  
Ar.
- 226 corrupcion] dampnacion Ar. dampned] dampne L<sub>1</sub>.
- 227 lorde] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr. shall] may Ar. not] noone  
USL<sub>1</sub>L; neuer Ar. in hell] ne eny of þoo þat goon  
down [om. L<sub>1</sub>] into helle UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; nor none of þem  
þat gothe downe to helle Ar. if ... lorde (1. 228)]  
Therfor gode lorde y beseche þi mercy Ar.
- 228 lord suffre me] suffre me lord UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb. entre] to  
entre LCbAr. in to] to L<sub>1</sub>; in G<sub>2</sub>. brode] large S.
- 229 it] merci certis lord it Cb; for gode lorde it Ar.  
neuer be] be neuer Cb; nothyng be Ar. be þe  
streyster (1. 230)] streiter be L<sub>1</sub>.
- 230 to þi mercy (1. 231)] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr.

me to þi mercy Ihesu; þou þat boughtist [f. 95<sup>r</sup>]  
 me, haue mynde of þi price and departe  
 it fro þe deuēl, and let it neuer be damp-  
 ned. Þou Ihesu þat madist me þorough  
 215 þi godenes, let me not perishe þorough  
 my wickednes, and as þou art moste mer-  
cyful suffre not my wickednes to lese þat  
 þat þine almyghty godenes hathe made.  
Mercyful Ihesu for þi godenes know þat  
 220 þat is þine and wipe away clene þat  
 þat is ouris. Ihesu Ihesu mercy of þin hand  
 werke, while tyme is of mercy þat þou  
 dampne me not in tyme of þi dome,  
 for what profite shalbe to þe in my bloȝe  
 225 or lesynge if I shall descende into euer-  
 lastynge corrupcion? For dampned men  
 lorde shall not prayse þe in hell; if þou  
 wilt lorde suffre me entre in to þe brode  
 bosome of þi mercy it shal neuer be þe  
 230 streyter for me. Resseyue me þerfore to

- 231 mercyful Ihesu] moost desirable Ihesu USLCb; moost  
desira desirable ihesu L<sub>1</sub>; þu moste desirable  
Ihesu T<sub>1</sub>; þou most benigne lorde Ar. resseyue]  
receyue me þerfore mooste desirab Cb.
- 232 of þi chosen] of one of þi chosyn flocke Ar.
- 233 fed] om. Ar. prayse] and þat y may preyse Ar.
- 234 þat ... Amen] in euerlastyng Ioye, y beseke þi  
grote mercy amen Ar. þat] and þat UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb.
- 235 Ihesu] om. UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCb; ihesu so be it G<sub>2</sub>.

þi mercy, mercyful Ihesu resseyue me with-  
in þe nowmbre of þi chosen, so þat I  
be fed in þe with hem & prayse þe with hem [f. 95<sup>v</sup>]  
þat I withouten ende ioy in þe, with  
235 all þo þat loueth þi name Ihesu, Amen.

## Notes

- 1 Here ... anselme (line 2). US agree in their readings as do, generally, L<sub>1</sub>LCbG<sub>2</sub>Ed. The unique reading (and mistaken one) is that of Ar. T<sub>1</sub> omits the rubric altogether. Such variation among the rubrics is, perhaps, to be expected, for the Latin texts (from one of which this Middle English tract is probably a translation) also vary in their rubrics. However, the variation in these tracts is of such a kind as to point back to the exemplar of each genetic group; the readings are too close to be the result of chance.
- 14 dispisable ... and. L's omission of almost an entire line is probably due to the repetition of the words 'vnfruytful and' in the line following, for the scribe begins immediately after the second 'vnfruytful and'. The omission does not appear in any other manuscript.
- 15 departison. The balance of the readings points in the direction of US, and their 'departesum'(U)/'departison'(S). G<sub>2</sub>, very close to Ed in most variants, reads 'departsom' (as does L<sub>1</sub>) and though this form is not listed in the O.E.D., 'departson' is, and it is easy to see how the variation, through abbreviation, could come about. Ed's 'deparsum' is not listed in the O.E.D. or the M.E.D. For Cb's reading 'a departinge' see O.E.D. departing vbl. sb. 1. 'Division (in various senses); distribution, sharing'. (Cf. O.E.D. departison [sb.] 1. 'Division into parts; distribution, portion'). Ed's 'deparsum' is, apparently, a mistake.
- 17 hymself, Euery. The two line omission in EdG<sub>2</sub> may be taken as proof their probable dependence upon the same source: the scribe of this exemplar has not used the Latin text of the Vulgate as corroboration for the English text.

qui] que T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L. That is to seyn] þat is L<sub>1</sub>L.

makith. The reading of 'makith' (EdCb) as opposed to 'bereth' (UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LArG<sub>2</sub>) presents the interesting question of the possible source for the substitution in EdCb. The English translation that accompanies the Latin (and without the Latin in EdG<sub>2</sub>) is also found in a slightly different form in a Wycliffite version: Matt. iii, 10.: '... euery tree þat makith not good fruyt schal be kit down and schal be cast in to þe fier'. I have quoted here from the Later Version, British Museum MS. Royal I.C.VIII., f. 300<sup>v</sup>, col.1, which forms the base text for the VE of the Forshall and Madden edition. It seems then that the translation of the Bible fresh in the minds of the

scribes of EdCb, or their exemplars, might have been the Wycliffite one, but such an inference is made purely on the survival of 'makith', and the similarity of the passages. Forshall and Madden do not list 'bereth' as a variant of 'makith', but do note the omission of 'þe' in a minority of MSS., and G<sub>2</sub> omits 'þe' in its rendering. However, both the omission of 'þe' and the substitution of 'makith' could well be part of a tendency toward simplification, and such a conscious editing by the scribe is not to be ruled out.

- 20 L's reading 'ouctirly' is not supported in the O.E.D. as a variant of 'outerly', and is probably the result of a confusion between o and t.
- 26 synne, ffor. The reading in UT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>G<sub>2</sub> of 'synne, and wel I may seie stynkyng in synne' does not occur in EdSL. While the omission in EdSL seems to indicate a common line of descent, it may well be the result of independent, coincident variation occasioned by the repetition of 'synne'. The occurrence of the phrase in G<sub>2</sub>, however, excludes Ed (which in many respects otherwise resembles G<sub>2</sub>) from consideration as the immediate source of G<sub>2</sub>: the phrase is probably not a conjectural emendation made by the scribe of G<sub>2</sub> to his copy. For consideration of G<sub>2</sub> as source of Ed see note to lines 51-53.
- 37 þat. The scribe of S has inserted 'þat' above and between the words 'but al'. L<sub>1</sub>L also omit 'þat', but the omission, while suggestive of a common source for SL<sub>1</sub>L, may well be the result of homoteleuton. That L<sub>1</sub> and L do not descend from S (or U) is clear from the longer omission in US at lines 47-48 not shared by L<sub>1</sub>L.
- 38 The scribe of L<sub>1</sub> has placed 'it' in the margin, and indicated its position in his copy by a caret between 'þat' and 'al'.
- 42 siker. See O.E.D. s.v. Sicker, a. and adv. B. adv. 1: 'With security; safely; confidently.'
- 47 þe ... nys (line 48). US omit 'þe grete day of þe lorde is ful nys'; given the close overall textual similarity of U and S such an omission may be taken as a conjunctive and separative variant arising from the duplication of 'nyghe'/'nys' a line below. This is not a necessary conjunctive and separative variant, as the scribes of U and S may have omitted the phrase independently of each other and their exemplar(s).
- 51 a ... clarionynge (line 53). The scribe of G<sub>2</sub> apparently having lost his place and starting with 'say' (line 53), discovered his mistake and resumed copying where he had originally left off (line 51).

Such a rearranged word order as G<sub>2</sub>'s is unique, and it excludes Ed from probable dependence upon G<sub>2</sub> as an immediate source: this word variation in G<sub>2</sub>, however, does not exclude it from dependence upon the same immediate source as that used by Ed.

- 53 clarionyng. Ar's 'clarnoris' is not cited in the O.E.D. or M.E.D. 'Clarnoris' may be a hybrid form of 'clanger' plus 'clamour', or it may be a variant of 'clamour', but the earliest attested occurrence of 'clamour' is 1592: see O.E.D. s.v. Clamour sb. 4. If 'clarnoris' is a variant of 'clamour' then it may have arisen through a scribal confusion of the letter m improperly formed, e.g. rn. However, such a case involves, among other things, positing the existence of 'clamour(is)' (s.v. Clamour) prior to 1592.
- 65 þorough forthynkyng. L<sub>1</sub> reads 'byfor þenkyng', a plausible error, but given the context the sense of such a reading is ambiguous if not awkward. That such an error could arise may have been reason enough for the scribe of the immediate source of EdG<sub>2</sub> to substitute 'þorough' for 'by', and to add 'in þe' (line 66). The sense is clearer through such scribal editing, and it makes misinterpretation in reading or copying less likely.
- 66 and ... litel (line 69); Whan (line 74) ... god (line 75). These lines present several textual problems. It is fairly clear, I think, from the variants that T<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LEdG<sub>2</sub> used an immediate source distinct from that used by US; however, the variation between the manuscripts is such that it is difficult to say what the precise nature of that immediate source is. The variation confirms the main outlines of the different genetic groups, yet implicates each group with the other. The only plausible explanation for the similarity amid diversity is to postulate the existence of an itinerant exemplar (perhaps such like T<sub>1</sub>) which moved throughout the area giving rise, in turn, to copies from which the extant manuscripts (including US) derive.
- 67 Ar's 'miste' is above and between 'way' and 'spete', and its place is marked with a single insertion mark.
- 69 be. Ar's 'be' is above and between 'way' and 'but', and its place is marked with a single insertion mark.
- 89 knowist. EdG<sub>2</sub> read 'knowist' for 'seest'. The emphasis here, as in line 65 above, seems to be on a kind of common-sense clarity: 'seest' although appropriate to the imagery of the ambush--'enemeyes liggyng in awayte'-- is not appropriate to a more devotional and didactic (and less visual) treatise.



EdG<sub>2</sub> do not seem as concerned with vision as with the immediate intellectual apprehension of the message: sins are to be known not seen.

- 90 L reads 'fe'l' mo' where UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>CbG<sub>2</sub> read 'fer moo'. The l of fe'l' is in blue ink. See O.E.D. s.v. Fele adv. A.1 'To a great extent or degree, much.'
- 93 U reads 'puele' for its usual 'yuele'. This is U's only p/y confusion.
- 113, 128 T<sub>1</sub> writes 'merpe' for 'merow'/'mergh'/'meru' (line 113), and 'poust' for 'youth'/'youpe' (line 128). As the scribe of T<sub>1</sub> otherwise clearly distinguishes his p and y, the variation may be the result of an ill-formed y in T<sub>1</sub>'s immediate source; alternatively, the variation may have arisen through a confusion of p and q, but the scribe of T<sub>1</sub> is both clear and consistent in his use of q and p. The only support for the confusion being the result of the immediate source of T<sub>1</sub> rests on a similar confusion in Ar which reads 'myrthe' for 'merow', and 'thought' for 'youth'. The latter example, however, is contained in an interpolation (see Appendix I, lines 127-136), and may not be reliable evidence. The interpolation in Ar is unique, so it is impossible to check its analogue(s) and to see similar readings occur; however, it is tempting to speculate on the possibility that Ar and T<sub>1</sub> used the same immediate source. T<sub>1</sub>, though, is not that source, for it omits the phrase 'how yuel haue I doon', at line 152, and this phrase is not likely to have been conjecturally added by the scribe of Ar.
- 116 SAR read 'And' where all other manuscripts read 'A': such reading is likely to be the result of a misreading of 'a' or 'A' as an ampersand.
- 133 L reads 'spekiþ' for 'spedith'. The k in L's 'spekiþ' is faint, so as a corrective the scribe (or a reader) has placed the letter k in the margin.
- 135 rekened. See O.E.D. s.v. Reckon v.I.7 'To account, assign, or attribute to (a person or thing).' The earliest recorded use cited in the O.E.D. is 1526.
- 137 Ar's 'nist' appears above and after 'by'.
- 142 In the margin of L the scribe (or a corrector-reader) has written 'he'; this is, apparently, a reference to the word 'trespasse' in the L text, for in the other manuscripts it is 'trespassour'. The marginal 'he' in L is an attempt to make sense out of a scribal error. D.J. Lloyd noted the marginal correction but read it as 'ne', and could find no place for it in the sentence (see D.J. Lloyd, 'Thesis MS. Laud Misc. 23', p. 130, n.2).

- 153 I ... almyghty (line 156). The unique omission here by S is probably to be attributed to the repetition of the word 'almyghty'. This error along with others (see lines 7, 43, 71) may be taken as proof of the textual independence of U from S. For further discussion of the relationship of U to S, and their probable dependence upon the same immediate source see the introduction to *The Stathel of Sin*, part III, 'The inter-relationships of the core group texts', and note to line 118 of that treatise.
- 158 L's 'þe' has been squeezed in between 'suffre' and 'a', and in a different hand from that of the main text.
- 164 ferynge. Ed's use of 'ferynge' is to be compared with U's use of 'smertynge'. The *O.E.D.* cites 'smertynge' s.v. *Smarting* ppl. a. as first appearing in 1548. The substantive use is much earlier -- c. 1175, but in this instance--'a smertynge conscience' (U)-- 'smertynge' is a participial adjective, and, by analogy and function, 'ferynge' ought to be one as well. 'Ferynge' is not cited under the ppl. a. forms of *fēren* in the *M.E.D.* The reasons for the substitutions may well have been a conscious attempt at altering the meaning of the phrase: a conscience (for EdG<sub>2</sub>) fears or frets, but does not smart. It is also possible that the readings (if not original) are an attempt at unravelling another scribe's spelling.
- 165 vmupis. Ed's form is not listed under the variant forms of 'uneaths', see *O.E.D.* s.v. *Uneath* adv. 1b 'Scarcely, hardly, barely (in respect of extent, amount, degree, etc.)', but possibly with sense 2a. 'Reluctantly, unwillingly.' The sense one adopts will depend upon the attitude one takes toward salvation. Given the nature of the 'synnes accusynge', the 'rightwiseman' either is scarcely or is reluctantly saved.
- 176 US share the same word order, and, like their omissions and substitutions, this variant points to a shared immediate source.
- 177 help. EdG<sub>2</sub> both substitute 'help' for 'helpe': such a substitution may be attributed to a confusion between *h* and *p*. However, it is possible that 'help' is a conscious substitution for 'heele': 'help' with the sense succour may have been thought more appropriate for a 'wounde' which is, after all, a spiritual one, and one not susceptible to being healed.
- 178 he. The scribe of L<sub>1</sub> has written 'he' in the margin, and marked its place with a caret.

pat is. L has omitted 'is', but above and between 'pat' and 'clepid' a word has been inserted, and it appears to be 'is'. The omission here (if we consider it as such) coincides with the same omission in L<sub>1</sub>, and as a type of conjunctive variant it is crucial to the connexion of L<sub>1</sub> to L. Because of omissions unique to one and not shared by the other (for example, L, line 14, and L<sub>1</sub>, line 174), there is little to support one being the copy of the other; however, the consistency of their agreements (against other manuscripts) and the conjunctive variant above points to their probable dependence upon the same immediate source.

- 182 O ... & (line 186). These four lines, shared by EdG<sub>2</sub>, but altered and parts omitted by UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LCbAr, are indicative not only of EdG<sub>2</sub>'s probable dependence upon the same immediate source, but of the close relationships of the other manuscripts already noted: for further shared omissions (and substitutions) within this group see lines 191-194; 196-201; and 205-211. It is apparent from these variants that (1) UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L are very similar in text; (2) CbAr seem to depend, but in a variety of different ways, upon the UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>L group; (3) EdG<sub>2</sub> are textually very close, and preserve a distinct text.
- 196 Fforyet. The reading 'ffor;ef' in SLAr may have a common source, but it is the kind of error -- final f for final t -- that given the word and the context is understandable. The sense seems to require 'forgive': compare S's 'ffor ;ef nou Ihesu þis proude trespasour' with U's 'ffor ;et nou ihesu þis proude trespasour'. The Latin text reads obliviscor, 'forget'. The other manuscripts have 'Foryet', so the plea is for the 'trespassour' to be forgotten UT<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>Cb not to be forgotten EdG<sub>2</sub>, and to be forgiven SLAr.
- 205 See note to lines 182-186 for other additions by EdG<sub>2</sub>.
- perishe. The scribe of Ed wrote 'periche' then corrected it; for another example of the same correction see line 215.
- 218 þine almyghty. The scribe of L has corrected his mistake by lining through 'þ<sup>u</sup>' and marking 'þin' to take its place. The double insertion/deletion (?) mark seems to indicate that a change to the text affects two words.
- 221 ouris. The substitution of 'ouris' for 'ootheres' (UST<sub>1</sub>L<sub>1</sub>LG<sub>2</sub>Ar) may well be a conscious one which makes quite clear the distinction between those things in man of divine origin and those things of human, and personal, creation. The plea to 'Mercyful Ihesu' is, in Ed, a more personal one which acknowledges, and makes clear, the personal (and human) source of evil.

## Biblical Sources\*

- 17 Matthew iii, 10.
- 31 Psalm xxi, 6.
- 33 Job x, 1.
- 46 Sophonias i, 14-16.
- 55 Apocalypse iii, 16.
- 60 Matthew iii, 10.
- 75 Luke xiii, 31.
- 121 Jeremias xiv, 17.
- 165 1 Peter iv, 18.
- 179 Isaia ix, 6.
- 180 Luke ii, 11.
- 181 Matthew i, 21.
- 195 Psalm cviii, 21.
- 226 Psalm cxiii, 17.
- 235 Psalm v, 12.

\* I have consulted the notes of Sister Benedicta Ward, S.L.G., The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1973), 272, and the commentary of F.S. Schmitt, 'Meditatio 1', S. Anselmi Opera Omnia (Edinburgh, 1946), iii, 76-79.

## The Manuscript Relationships of The Stathel of Sin

The Stathel of Sin of E.U.L. MS. 93 (Ed), ff. 95<sup>v</sup> - 100<sup>r</sup>,  
is extant in six other manuscripts:<sup>1</sup>

- (U) University College, Oxford MS. 97, ff. 153<sup>r</sup>-155<sup>v</sup>.
- (S) British Museum MS. Additional 22283, f. 116<sup>r</sup>,  
cols. a-b - 116<sup>v</sup>, col. a.
- (L<sub>1</sub>) Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 174, ff. 82<sup>r</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>.
- (T<sub>1</sub>) Trinity College, Cambridge MS. B.14.53 (336),  
ff. 129<sup>r</sup>-132<sup>v</sup>.
- (Ar) British Museum MS. Arundel 197, ff. 1<sup>rv</sup>; 3<sup>rv</sup>  
[with interpolated text on ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>].
- (P) Magdalene College, Cambridge MS. Pepys 2125,  
f. 117<sup>rv</sup>.

Carl Horstman printed an edition of the tract<sup>2</sup> using U  
as his base text, and citing variants from S; although  
he was aware of the existence of the tract in L<sub>1</sub>, he did  
not note variants from it. The edition here presented  
is the first to cite all substantive variants from the  
extant manuscripts, and it is also the first to consider  
and to attempt a clarification of the various textual  
relationships among the different copies of the tract.

In collating the above manuscripts the following  
textual groups have been identified:

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<sup>1</sup> For descriptions and references to the cited manuscripts  
see 'Manuscripts: Notices and Descriptions'. I have  
relied upon information given me by Dr. A.I. Doyle  
(personal letter dated 24 November, 1977) and  
Dr. P.S. Jolliffe's Check-List, 109, item I. 18 for the  
identification of the surviving manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Yorkshire Writers, ii (London, 1896), 441-443.

$[(US)(L_1)(T_1)] [Ed] [Ar] [P]^3$

As is indicated in the above notation, the texts of U, S,  $L_1$  and  $T_1$  (allowing for minor variation within the group) form a group distinct from the texts of Ed, Ar, and P.

In the following discussion the distinct character of the  $USL_1T_1$  group (hereafter called the 'core group')<sup>4</sup> will be sketched out; the relationships of Ed, Ar, and P to this core group will be considered, and the distinct textual characters of Ed, Ar, and P will be established. In the concluding section the inter-relationships of the texts of the core group will be discussed, and the various core group texts will be considered as possible immediate sources for the other texts.

#### I. The distinct character of the core group texts.

These are best distinguished by their shared major additions, and substitutions; to avoid confusion, the

<sup>3</sup> The notation is an attempt to represent family (or genetic) likenesses based upon scribal variations, and it is not an attempt to represent lines of descent. The problem of descent is taken up in the concluding section of this introduction.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'core group' is used purely for convenience:  $USL_1T_1$  form a very tight textual group, thus providing a consistent core of readings to be used in comparison with other texts. This 'core group' was arrived at by collating  $USL_1T_1$  with Ed (see note to line 118). Throughout the following discussion the terms 'addition', 'omission', 'substitution' and 'word order' are used to describe the various textual differences as they occur between Ed and the other manuscripts to which it is compared. The text of Ed is treated as being a copy of the tract The Stathel of Sin and not the original. It is the base text in this edition.

occasional agreement of Ar or P with the core group  
is not noted in this section.

#### Additions:

line(s)					
12	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	as longe as	Ed	as. as	
21	UL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	til þe tyme þat þe þenke;	Ed	til þe thynk	
	S	al þe tyme 'til' þat þe þinke			
74	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	fewe foule stynkyng fleschly	Ed	few fleshly	
131	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	dedes doon after here bapteem	Ed	dedis aftir baptyme	
157-158	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	me, and set i þe þis stynkyng wrecche, vnnethes kan see þise greete kyndenesses doon to me. Now	Ed	me. Now	
192-194	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	My goode ihesu haue mercy on me. My faire ihesu haue mercy on me. My lord ihesu haue mercy on me. My swete ihesu haue mercy on me	Ed	My Ihesu, my faire Ihesu, my lorde Ihesu, my swete Ihesu, my mercyful Ihesu haue mercy vpon me	

#### Substitutions:

line(s)					
5	UST <sub>1</sub>	stathel;	Ed	stable	
	L <sub>1</sub>	scaþil			
95	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	þei so doo, let hem ryse lord as þin owene seru- aunt;	Ed	þei do so, let hem rise lorde as þe seruauntys	

125	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	dampnacion	Ed	vengeance
133	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	ristfully suffred	Ed	rightwisely suffrid
144	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	repentaunce	Ed	penance
159	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	slayn	Ed	killyd
179-101	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	as mannes freeite wol suffre & specially myn, þe whiche freeite i beseche	Ed	as mannes frelty wil suffre and specially mynde þe whiche I beseche
192	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	feynyng	Ed	failyng

The above core group readings are only a selection of the more important variants; if we take into account some of the numerous minor agreements in variation (for example, at line 172, USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> read 'þi' for Ed's 'þe', at line 173, USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> read 'for to' for 'to', or at line 195, USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> read 'in' for 'on') the case for the overall similarity of the texts of U, S, L<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>1</sub> is strengthened.

As the above readings indicate, the core group texts, when compared with Ed, tend to agree among themselves, thus suggesting that USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> drew upon the same immediate source. However, as S's addition at line 21 and L<sub>1</sub>'s substitution at line 5 also suggest, the core group is not without its internal disagreements, but these will be dealt with at greater length and in more detail in a later section. For the moment it is important to note that, minor differences aside, USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> consistently agree in variation against Ed, and in certain major variants against Ar and P.



## II. The distinct textual characters of Ed, Ar, and P.

### The text of Ed.

Much of the evidence for the distinct textual character of Ed is cited above in part I, and this discussion will refer to that body of readings.

The text of Ed (unlike the texts of Ar and P) is not very dissimilar from the core group texts; that is, if we were to read The Stathel of Sin in Ed, and then to read the same tract in U or T<sub>1</sub>, the overall sense of the tract would be much the same, but in particular readings we would note differences in content and meaning between the Ed tract and the core group tracts. The Stathel of Sin in Ed may be seen as a slimmer, or slightly pruned, version of the core group tract:<sup>5</sup> the scribe of Ed, perhaps through error, has omitted (vis-a-vis the core group texts) 'þe tyme þat' at line 21, 'foule stynkyng' at line 74, 'doon' and 'here' at line 131, as well as the repetitious 'haue mercy on me' of lines 192-194. The minor variation in omission adds to this impression: at line 28, Ed omits 'with', at line 50 'oother', at line 63 'with', at line 72 'Highe', at line 113 'by', at line 119 'so', and at lines 186-187 'þat' is omitted twice.

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<sup>5</sup> This is purely an hypothesis, and it presupposes the possibility that Ed may have used a text resembling a core group text as an immediate source. That this immediate source is no longer among the extant copies of the tract is dealt with in the concluding section of this introduction.

A comparison of the Ed tract with that of the core group also reveals subtle differences in sense in several passages: the scribe of Ed who, at line 125, has substituted 'vengeance' for 'dampnacion' may have wished to stress the fact (and the hope) that 'to be a shepe of þi flok pasturyng in þi law' may well lessen the punishment for 'all mysbileuyng', but it will not, necessarily, save one from the sentence of 'dampnacion', which, in the end, is God's prerogative and not man's. The high claims of the core group that the sheep in the right pasture are saved from 'þat apert dampnacion' are modified by the scribe of Ed. Similarly in lines 179-181 the meaning is appreciably altered by the substitution of 'mynde' for 'myn' and the omission of 'freelte' after 'þe whiche'. The following passage in Ed is to be contrasted with the same passage in USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>:

Ed	as mannes frelty wil suffre and specially mynde þe whiche I beseche þe for to strenkeþ with þe grace of þi myche mercy
Core group (cited from U)	as mannes freelte wol suffre & specially myn þe whiche freelte i beseche þee to strengthe with þi grace for þi muchel mercy.

Setting aside the possible origins of the different readings (see note to lines 179-181) it is clear that in Ed 'grace' is to strengthen the 'mynde' and not, as in the core group, 'myn [freelte]'. The plea in Ed is not necessarily a personal one, but one for man in general and

not for a man in particular -- the reader-sinner of the tract. In conclusion, the text of Ed may be seen, then, as a slightly shorter and pruned copy of a text close to the core group The Stathel of Sin, and one that in some of its substitutions alters the meaning of that archetype, sometimes dramatically so.

#### The text of Ar.

The text of Ar presents several problems: it is, on the one hand, probably a copy of a text (or texts) fairly close to those of the core group, and on the other hand it is, as a result of interpolations and numerous additions, omissions and substitutions, a text far removed from the other versions. Given the scope of this introduction -- the consideration of textual relationships -- it is not germane to the discussion to treat at length the idiosyncratic substitutions and interpolations of Ar. (For the sake of completeness the longer substitutions and interpolations are included in Appendix I of this thesis). However, it is possible to point out and comment on the various ways in which Ar is related to, as well as distinct from, these other versions.

It will become apparent from the following selection of agreements in variation that the scribe of Ar (or its immediate source) used as its exemplar a text very similar to the core group text.

## Additions

line(s)				
72	Ed	þi maieste	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	þin highe maieste
74	Ed	few fleshly	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	fewe foule stynkyng fleschly
75	Ed	Dere Ihesu	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	A deere Ihesu
157-158	Ed	me. Now	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	me, and yet i þis stynkyng wrecche, vnnethes kan see þise greete kyndenesses doon to me. Now
			Ar	me, and yet y so sympulle a wrecche vnnethe canne se & perseue þis grete kyndnes done to me. Nowe

## Substitutions

line(s)				
41	Ed	And	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	Aftir
59	Ed	þer	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	Heere
77	Ed	þere	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	Heere
133	Ed	rightwisely suffrid	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	ristfully suffred
144	Ed	penance	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	repentaunce
149	Ed	þer	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	Heere
159	Ed	killyd	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	slayn
			Ar	& slayne

180	Ed	mynde þe whiche I beseche þe	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	myn, þe whiche fraelte i beseche
			Ar	þe whiche fraelte y be sech
192	Ed	failynge	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	feynynge
			Ar	faynynge with alle þine hole substans
192-193	Ed	My Ihesu, my faire Ihesu, my lorde Ihesu, my swete Ihesu	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> Ar	My goode ihesu haue mercy on me. My faire ihesu haue mercy on me. My lord ihesu haue mercy on me. My swete ihesu haue mercy on me.

The above agreements, however, should not obscure the fact that Ar is a much-revised text, and that the scribe of Ar (or its exemplar) frequently added phrases and deleted entire passages: for example, the scribe of Ar has omitted lines 18-28, an error occasioned by the repetition of similar material (see note to line 18); repetition of similar phrases at lines 44 and 46 may explain another omission in Ar's text (see note to line 44). In the first 50 lines alone<sup>6</sup> seven lines (or 17 counting the 10 line omission of lines 18-28) have a unique omission of one word or more. The variation in substitution is even more

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<sup>6</sup> The pattern of omission and substitution apparent in the first 50 lines remains the same throughout the text.

significant: within the first 50 lines there are 20 lines which have a unique substitution of one word or more. These, however, are substitutions which still bear some resemblance to the readings of Ed and the core group; later substitutions (for example, lines 49-58, and 82-126) are expansions, or interpolations. One in particular (lines 82-126) rambles on for one-and-a-half folios,<sup>7</sup> and is a somewhat lurid meditation in itself on the passion of Christ.

In summary, the text of Ar is, in various readings, fairly close to the texts of the other versions, but its many unique additions, omissions and substitutions suggest that it is, as a whole, a different and independent version of The Stathel of Sin, and not merely a conflation of two or more different texts.

The text of P.

P, like Ar and Ed, seems to be a copy of a text similar to that of the core group. But, like Ar, P is not a faithful copy of some extant text of the core group type, as its plentiful and unique variant readings attest.

P's connexion with the core group is, however, clear, and it is best to consider it now, before going onto the unique characteristics of P.

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<sup>7</sup> See Appendix I for text.

## Additions

## line(s)

12	Ed	as. as	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	as longe as
114	Ed	þe to	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	þee, swete lord, for to
			P	þe goode lord to
131	Ed	dedis aftir baptyne	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	dedes doon after hore bapteem

## Substitutions

## line(s)

1	Ed	Here bigynneth a tretice þat is þe stabile of synne	US	Heere bigynneth a ful good meditacion for 'oon' to seie by him self al oone
			L <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	omitted
			P	Meditacio bona
41	Ed	And	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	Aftir
59	Ed	þer	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	Heere
77	Ed	þere	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	Heere
85	Ed	þe	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	þi
86	Ed	foot	USL <sub>1</sub> P	fret
95	Ed	þe seruantys	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	þin owene seruauntys
125	Ed	all apert vengeance	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	þat apert dampnacion
			P	þe apperte dampnacion
133	Ed	rightwisely suffrid	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	ristfully suffred
			P	ristfully of þe swete lord suffred
149	Ed	þer	USL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub> P	Heere

Several of P's variants require explanation: among the substitutions, line 1, P reads 'Meditacio bona'; from this it might be inferred that P derived its title, a good meditation, from a text much like U or S, that is from one which had as its incipit (or part of its incipit) the phrase 'a good meditation'. Conversely, it may be argued that P's 'Meditacio bona' is a scribal opinion of the tract he was copying, and that the title has no textual basis whatsoever. I have listed 'Meditacio bona' among the substitutions of US-like texts more as a suggestive variant than as one that points unequivocally toward dependence upon such a text. Similar arguments can be raised against making much of the substitution 'feet' USL<sub>1</sub>P for 'foot', line 86: the scribe of P may have found the reading 'þe sole of þe foot' slightly awkward and changed it.

For the most part, the readings noted above (see also those for Ar) are taken as suggestive of P's dependence upon a core group type of text for its immediate source, but, as with Ar, the scribe of P has altered the text of his exemplar, and in the altering has produced a slightly different version.

The major alterations are these: unique omissions at lines 24-28; 37; 45-46; 50; 62; 105-107; 124; and 151 - end of text (for comment see the notes to the above lines).

Unique substitutions and additions have also changed the character of the tract: in an attempt to make precise



the vague or general the scribe of P has, it seems, substituted or expanded the following readings: the imprecise 'some preuey place by þi silf' of EdUSL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar, line 14, becomes, in P, 'of þyn hows þat is deuout'; similarly, at line 16, the scribe of P, seemingly not content with a mere 'biholdynge of þi wrechid lyuynges', specifies the number and manner of such a 'biholdynge': 'and reherce ten or twelue of þi grettest synnes in þe syst of god rist þere or þou passe ferther þeyns & sey þus'. Other substitutions which appear to narrow the reference or modify or completely change the sense of the putative exemplar are:

## line(s)

65	P	the whuche hast lessed þi self bynethe angels wylfully forto take
	EdUSL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	so lowly mekynges þe and so wilfully for me takynge
69	P	wrecchednessis
	EdUSL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	þe remanent
71	P	shamfully enhauncyng
	EdUSL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	highynge
114	P	y, as in kynde haueþ
	EdUSL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	I, haue
118	P	mysbileue
	EdUSL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	heþenes
125	P	fals mysbileuyng men
	EdUSL <sub>1</sub> T <sub>1</sub>	mysbileuynges

As P does not parallel Ed or the core group texts after line 151 it is difficult to classify P's text from there on; it is probably best seen as an interpolation, or divagation, allowing the scribe to assert, toward the end, that 'I thanke þe hertily my lord ihesu crist, for þou hast nat clepid me to þe rewle of seynt Benet ne of seynt austyn ne of seynt ffranceys ne to non oþer rewle ordenyd by mannes chesyng but to þat souereyn & to þat holyest rewle'.

To summarize: the scribe of P probably used a text close to the core group as his immediate source, but he was not intent on replicating that exemplar, preferring, instead, to substitute for or expand on general or imprecise words and phrases. His expansions and substitutions are not as long nor as frequent as are those of the scribe of Ar, nor can P's omission be seen as prunings as can those of Ed. The text of P, like that of Ar and Ed, may well be the result of one scribe's individual handling of his exemplar, or it may represent that scribe's handling, and perhaps faithful copying, of a much-revised exemplar.

### III. The inter-relationships of the core group texts.

In the following brief discussion the agreement in variation among the texts U, S, L<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>1</sub> will be considered, and each core group text will be discussed as a possible exemplar of one or more of the extant texts.

Within the core group the following sub-groups have some support from the variants: UST<sub>1</sub>; USL<sub>1</sub>; US.

Evidence for other sub-groups either does not occur or the occurrence (for example,  $L_1T_1$ ) is based upon a questionable variant:  $L_1T_1$  agree in omitting the incipit (line 1), as does Ar, and P.

### UST<sub>1</sub>.

UST<sub>1</sub> agree against other texts in the following readings:

#### line(s)

5	UST <sub>1</sub>	stathel	Ed	stable
	L <sub>1</sub>	scapil	P	wrecchyndes
88	UST <sub>1</sub>	A i	EdL <sub>1</sub>	I
104	UST <sub>1</sub> P	kyndenesses	EdL <sub>1</sub>	kyndenes
112	UST <sub>1</sub>	a goode swete	EdL <sub>1</sub>	Good swete
	P	a swete		

Any of the above conjunctive readings (that is, where UST<sub>1</sub> agree in variation against all other texts) could be the result of independent, coincident variation.

### USL<sub>1</sub>.

USL<sub>1</sub> agree against other texts in the following readings:

line(s)

33	USL <sub>1</sub>	for my synnes	EdT <sub>1</sub> ArP	For why my synnes
38	USL <sub>1</sub> P	ffor þat	EdT <sub>1</sub>	for why þat
			Ar	for why lyke wyse
114	USL <sub>1</sub>	þee, swete lord, for to	Ed	þe to
	P	þe goode lord to	T <sub>1</sub>	þe for to
122	USL <sub>1</sub>	am broust	EdT <sub>1</sub> P	brought

Any of L<sub>1</sub>'s agreements in variation with US, like those of T<sub>1</sub>, could be the result of independent, coincident variation. The results of the above comparisons are instructive: as has been shown in part I, USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> are, because of shared readings, best seen as forming a separate textual group. However, within this close-knit group there are disagreements; these disagreements have been compared, and it is clear that for purposes of determining the closeness of L<sub>1</sub> or T<sub>1</sub> to US the various departures of L<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>1</sub> offer little convincing evidence for their dependence upon either U or S. It is worth noting, at this stage, that the unique omissions in L<sub>1</sub> (lines 1; 8-9) and T<sub>1</sub> (lines 1; 76-77; 78; 100-101) exclude these texts from consideration as immediate sources for U, S, Ed, Ar and P.

US.

The relationship of U to S has been discussed previously in the introduction to Meditation I of St. Anselm. There it is concluded that S may well be a faithful copy of U, or they may both be faithful copies of the same exemplar. The various unique readings of S and U in The Stathel of Sin reinforce this observation, but it is now possible to say with somewhat more force that S and U are probably faithful copies of one and the same exemplar.

U is clearly not a copy of S, for at line 21 S reads 'al þe tyme 'til' þat þe þinke' where U (and  $L_1T_1$ ) read 'til þe tyme þat þe þenke'. The word 'til' in S is added by a different hand in the margin and after 'tyme'; at line 33 S reads 'suffre' where all other texts read 'suffice'; other readings in S not appearing in U -- omission of 'of', line 106; addition of 'his', line 190. -- are relatively minor, and cannot be used as evidence for or against U's possible dependence upon S, or another source.

The suggestion that U and S used the same immediate source rests on the slender evidence of U's omission of 'dethe' at line 118: all other texts read 'dethe day'. If U had been the immediate source for the other texts, then each scribe would have had to supply 'dethe' by conjecture: given the scribes of  $L_1$  and  $T_1$  and their tendency to vary in their readings, it seems unlikely that 'dethe' would have been in all cases the natural,

conjectural choice. To account for 'dethē' in the other texts and its absence in U, and to account for the high degree of similarity among the texts of U, S, L<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>1</sub>, it is probably best to postulate the existence of another text, one textually closer to U than to S, and one that was the immediate source of U, S, L<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>1</sub>.<sup>8</sup> The scribes of Ed, Ar, and P may have used this same text, but, with equal probability, there may have been one or more exemplars between the putative immediate source of USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> and that (or those) used by Ed, Ar, and P.

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<sup>8</sup> I have postulated the existence of one text, but this, of course, assumes that such variation as there is between U, S, L<sub>1</sub>, and T<sub>1</sub> is the result of the scribes working on these manuscripts, and not a result of their exemplars. There are other approaches: the total variation between these texts may be the result of variation introduced by the scribes of the now lost exemplars plus variation introduced by the scribes of the extant texts.

- 1 Here ... synne (1. 2)] Heere bigynneth a ful good  
meditacion for 'oon' to seie by him self al oone US;  
Meditacio bona P; om. L<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 3 couetist] covete & desire Ar.
- 4 clene] clensed P. soule] soule take hede & serch wel  
þi conscience Ar. soule ... synne (1. 6)] soule of þe  
filþe of synne as hit may be here in þis lif P.  
as ... be] om. Ar.
- 5 in þis life] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar. stable] stathel UST<sub>1</sub>;  
scapil L<sub>1</sub>; wrecchyndes Ar.
- 6 of synne] of þi synnys Ar. whiche] whuche fulthe P.  
alwey] alle wey ellis Ar; om. L<sub>1</sub>. leue] remayne Ar.
- 7 be ... bisy] but if þou have gode warines þer of and  
Ar.
- 8 clennes ... to (1. 9)] om. L<sub>1</sub>.
- 9 þe speciall] om. P.
- 10 encressynge] encres P. þan ... bihoueth] Then furþer  
more a þou this hit bihoveth Ar.
- 11 a ... day (1. 12)] night by nyght or day by day as for  
a serteine tyme Ar.
- 12 contynuyng] om. P. contynuyng ... good (1. 13)]  
to dispose þe to be Ar. longe USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P] om. Ed.
- 13 thynkyth] þynkeþ þat P.
- 14 by ... þere] of þyn hows þat is deuout P.
- 15 and specially] and haue special P.
- 16 mynde ... biholdynge] om. P. lyuyng ... þus (1. 17)]  
lyuyng and reherce ten or twelue of þi grettest synnes  
in þe syst of god rist þere or þou passe farther  
þeyne & sey þus P.
- 17 þus] this Ar.
- 18 if ... mouth (1. 28)] om. Ar.
- 19 and ... so (1. 20)] om. P. thenkith it] þenketh þat  
it USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 20 eftsone] eft P.
- 21 til ... thynk (1. 22)] til þe tyme þat þe þenke  
UL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>; al þe tyme 'til' þat þe þinke S.
- 22 & ... in] om. P. in] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.

Here bigynneth a tretice þat is þe

[f. 95<sup>v</sup>]

stabile of synne.

- I ff þou couetist to be mayde  
 clene in soule, as it may be  
 5 here in þis life, of all þe stable  
 of synne, þe whi he will alwey leue  
 in þe aftir þi confessi , be þou neuer so bi-  
 sy so þat þu maist by þat clennes be maide  
 able to resseyue þe speci ll grace of god  
 10 in encressyng of þi perfeccion. Þan biho-  
 ueth þe a certeyn tyme nyght by nyght,  
 or day by day, contynuyng as [longe] as þe  
 thynkyth it doith þe goo in some preuey  
 place by þi silf, & þere gadder to gedyr  
 15 þe myghtes of þi soule and specially þi  
 mynde in biholdyng of þi wrechid ly-  
 uyng, seyng þus with hert, or with  
 mouthe, or with boithe togedir, if þe  
 boiþe list, and if þe thenkith it doith þe  
 20 good to do so: Lorde Ihesu crist, and eftsome [f. 96<sup>r</sup>]  
 rehearse these iii wordis, Lord Ihsu crist, til  
 þe thynk & þat þou fele verily in þine hert



- 24 not ... mouth (1. 28)] om. P.
- 25 it] om. L<sub>1</sub>.
- 26 þat] om L<sub>1</sub>. forth þus] þus forth USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 28 & mouth] and with mowth USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. Lorde] and sey Lord  
P. he] þe P; om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 29 wreche ... þe] wrecche and y wene my self þe Ar.  
most wickid] wikkedest P. & ... lathesome (1. 30)]  
þe moste wrecche P; om. Ar.
- 30 of all] of alle 'oper' Ar. þe whiche] þat P. þe  
whiche] þat P.
- 31 wonderfully haue] wundurfully ofte tymes haue Ar.  
highe] om. P.
- 32 maieste] godenes Ar. so ... þat] so ofte haue  
renuwyd my eynnfulle dedus þat Ar.
- 33 suffice] suffre S. to] forto P. for ... synnes] for  
þei P. why] om. USL<sub>1</sub>.
- 34 sonde] sondes Ar; wrek P. þe whiche] whuche P.
- 35 multitude ... nowmbred] no man may numbur the Ar.  
In] Then in Ar; om. P. In ... sighe (1. 36)] And  
here in þis biholdynge þu schalt sighe T<sub>1</sub>.
- 36 þis biholdynge] om. P. þou shalt] shalt þou P. sighe]  
sike S.
- 37 & as hertly] om. ArP maist] canne Ar; kanst or mayst  
P.
- 38 why] om. USL<sub>1</sub>P for ... þe] for why lyke wyse as a Ar.  
smythies] sporyer P. doith ... biholdynge (1. 41)]  
dothe rubbe a way alle rusti yronne & makethe hit shewe  
fayre & bright in þe same maner of wyse gostly dothe a  
sorowfulle & a contrite herte rubbe a way þe 'fowle  
rusti' synnys fro a mannys sowle & makethe hym shyne  
fayre & bright in þe sight of god. Then after þis  
'in' by holdynge Ar.
- 39 þe] þat P.
- 40 and ... fet] om. P. sighynge] sikynge S.
- 41 a] þi P. And] Aftir USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>ArP. biholdynge ...  
general] om. P.
- 42 in general] om. Ar.

acorde with thy mouthe, & þan passe  
 forthe, and not erst þough þu shuldest  
 25 sey it neuer so oft til þat it so be, & whan  
 þat it is so sey þan forth þus as I tell  
 þe, with þat same acordance of hert  
 & mouth: Lorde Ihesu crist I am he þat  
 wreche, þe moste wickid synner & þe  
 30 moste lathesome of all þe whiche so  
 wonderfully haue wrathid þine highe  
 maieste, & so oft þat my wit may  
 not suffice to tel it. For why my synnes  
 be as þe sonde of þe see þe whiche for  
 35 multitude may not be nowmbred. In  
 þis biholdyng, & here, þou shalt sighe  
 & sorow as depely & as hertly as þou maist:  
 for why þat þat þe smythies file doith  
 to þe rusty yren þe same gostely doith  
 40 a sorowful & a depe-fet sighynge to  
 a synful hert. And þis biholdyng þus  
 of þi wrechid lyuyng in general, þou [f. 96<sup>v</sup>]

- 43 mynde &] m[yn]de S. & biholdynge] om. P. biholdynge  
... kyndenes (1. 44)] remembur & thynke on þe grete  
kyndnes Ar.
- 44 god ... þus] god what he 'hat'e' done fore þe and  
then say thus Ar.
- 45 boiþ ... all myghty (1. 46)] om. P. boiþ ... before  
(1. 46)] om. Ar.
- 46 all myghty] om. Ar.
- 47 & was nowght] om. P.
- 48 broughtist ... forthe] broust þou nat me forth P.  
forthe ... þin] & hast made 'me' vn to þi nowne Ar.
- 49 ymage ... þi] om. Ar. ymage &] om. P. in to ... it  
(1. 58)] and to no noþer symylytude where for y may  
say & thynke bothe þat y am myche bounde to þi 'grete'  
mercy. And of þes grete gyfles of þi grace haue y had  
but litulle perseuerans & remembrans to loue and thanke  
þe þerfor a y shulde a done wherefor & if þi mercy helpe  
me not it Ar.
- 50 aboue ... creaturis] om. P. all] alle oother USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.  
þorough] wherþorw P.
- 51 þe ... synned] om. P.
- 53 þe ... blis] þe blisse, face P; þee in blisse face  
to face T<sub>1</sub>.
- 55 of synners] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P. vilest] foul P. haue ...  
deseruyd (1. 56)] in so mychel haf deseruyd P. in]  
i SL<sub>1</sub>.
- 56 þi] þe L<sub>1</sub>.
- 57 so] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P. if] om. T<sub>1</sub>.
- 58 it ... me] me had be better P.
- 59 to haue] haue P. þer] Heere USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>ArP. sighe] syke  
S.
- 60 And aftir] Then after Ar.
- 61 haue ... kyndnes] þis þou shalt calle to þi mynde þe  
grete kyndenes Ar.
- 62 seyynge] & sey P. þus]. þis Ar. boyth ... list (1. 63)]  
om. P boyth] om. T<sub>1</sub>.
- 63 and mouthe] & with mouth USL<sub>1</sub>Ar. if ... list] om. Ar.  
þe] þu T<sub>1</sub>. Ihesu crist (1. 64)] om. P.

shalt haue mynde & biholdynge of þe  
 kyndenes of þi lorde god & say þus,  
 45 boiþ with hert and with mouth, as it is  
 seyð before: Lord god all myghty, some  
 tyme whan I had no beyng & was no-  
 wght, þou broughtist me forthe to þin  
 ymage & to þi liknes in to so noble a  
 50 beyng aboue all creaturis þorough  
 þe whiche had I not synned I myght  
 haue had þe by grace in þis life, and in þat  
 oþer haue seen þe face to face in blis. And  
 I this wrechid erthly worme, þe moste  
 55 vilest synner of synners of all haue in so  
 myche deseruyd þe streitnes of þi right  
 wisdom, so þat but if þou help me ye-  
 uynge me þi mercy it wer better to me  
 neuer to haue be borne. þer shalt þou sighe  
 60 and sorow as þou didist before, and after  
 haue mynde of þe kyndnes of his in-  
 carnacion seyyng þus, boyth with hert  
 and mouthe if þe boþe list: Lorde Ihesu

- 64 highe] hight Ar.
- 65 þe] þi self Ar. so ... takynge (1. 66)] the whuche  
hast lessed þi self bynethe angels wyfully forto take  
P.
- 66 for me] om. L<sub>1</sub>.
- 67 þe chargis] charges P Ar. & þe wrecchednessis] and  
þe wrecchidnesse L<sub>1</sub>; & wrecchidnesses T<sub>1</sub>; om. Ar.
- 69 þe remanent] þe remnauntes Ar; wrecchednesses P.  
saue] outake P.
- 70 þis] a Ar. worme] caytiffe Ar.
- 71 me] myself Ar. highynge] shamfully enhauncyng P:  
me] om. Ar.
- 72 haue displesid] haue ofte tymys ful greuusly displesyd  
Ar. þi maieste] þin highe maieste USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 73 þe wel] welle P.
- 74 few fleshly] fewe foule stynkyng fleischly USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.  
delices] delytes UT<sub>1</sub>ArP.
- 75 whedir] om. Ar, substituted in l. 76. Dere Ihesu]  
A deere Ihesu UST<sub>1</sub>Ar; A ihesu P. whedir ... hide  
(1. 76)] & y shulde fle fro þe, wheþer shulde y go  
for hyde Ar.
- 76 & ... not (1. 77)] om. T<sub>1</sub>.
- 77 þere] Heere USL<sub>1</sub>TArP. sighe] syke S.
- 78 as ... bifore] om. T<sub>1</sub>. and ... mynde] Then a pon  
þis þou shalt calle to mynde Ar.
- 79 of] om. Ar. kyndenes] grete kyndnes Ar. passion]  
passion suffrynge Ar.
- 80 Was ... crist (1. 81)] Lord ihesu crist, was hit nat  
ynow vnto þe P. was it] It was Ar.
- 81 crist] om. S. to be comen] to bicom USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>ArP.
- 82 but ... ouer] but þou of þi grete mercy over Ar. þat  
... myshileuyng (1. 126)] interpolation in Ar, see  
Appendix I for text.
- 83 dedely] om. P.
- 84 betynges] betyng P.
- 85 sole] soles L<sub>1</sub>. þe] þi USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P.

crist art thou not he þat highe kyng  
65 of awngels, so lowly mekyn e þe and  
so wilfully for me takynge upon þe all  
þe chargis & þe wrecchednessis of man-  
kynde as hungyr, thrist & colde with all  
þe remanent saue synn & ignorance. And  
70 I lorde þis wrecchid erthly worme, not  
mekynge me but highynge me in so my-  
che þat I haue displesid þi maieste, cha-  
ungynge þe þat art þe wel of euer lasty-  
nge godenes for a few fleshly delices  
75 of þis wrechid life. Dere Ihesu whedir  
may I fle, hide me may I not & shew  
me dar I not. Þere shal þou sighe & sorow  
as þou didist bifore, and aftir haue mynde  
of þe kyndenes of his passion & sey þus:  
80 Was it not ynoghe to þe my swete lord  
ihesu crist þus to be comen man for þe loue  
of man, but if þou ouer þat for þe releuyng  
of so many dedely wrecchis tokist vpon  
þe to suffre so hard betynges, so vnnow-  
85 mbrable woundis þat fro þe sole of þe

- 86 foot] feet USL<sub>1</sub>P. was] þer was P.
- 87 skynn ne lyme] lyme ne skyn USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P. blessid] om. P.
- 88 I] A i UST<sub>1</sub>; om. P.
- 91 þi] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P. of reson] & by reson P.
- 92 betwix] between USP. heuen and hel] helle & heuene P.
- 94 trewly lorde] lord trewly P. apayed] payed SP.
- 95 do so] so doo USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P. þe seruauntys] þin owene  
seruaunt; USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P.
- 96 own] om. L<sub>1</sub>.
- 97 of me] on me P.
- 98 þis] þus P. stronge] straunche U; straunge SL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.  
fremmed] an exiled P.
- 100 Here shalt þou] Here þow schalt US. sighe] syke S.  
as ... bifore (1. 101)] om. T<sub>1</sub>.
- 102 passion] blod P. wounde ... hert (1. 103)] om. P.
- 103 holow] perlynge T<sub>1</sub>.
- 104 but ... þat] and for alle P. thre] om. P. kyndenes]  
kyndenesses UST<sub>1</sub>P.
- 105 named] seid P. þat ... passion (1. 107)] om. P. of]  
om. US.
- 106 of] om. S.
- 107 of] om. US. generally done] do generally USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P.
- 109 after ... haue] haue after þis P. speciall] a  
special P.
- 111 many] eny P.
- 112 Good swete] A goode swete UST<sub>1</sub>; a swete P.
- 113 as] om. L<sub>1</sub>. and a] and by a USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P. thousandfold]  
thousand part P. more worthy] wurthier P.
- 114 I, haue] y, as in kynde haueþ P. þe to] þee, swete  
lord, for to USL<sub>1</sub>; þe goode lord to P; þe for to  
T<sub>1</sub>.

foot to þe crown of thyne hede was no [f. 97<sup>v</sup>]  
 skynn ne lyme of þi blid body þat it  
 ne famed ful of þi prcious blood. I wickid  
 cursid wreche what may I do? I am cause  
 90 of þi deth. Where may I wone, for by  
 þi rightwisedome of reson all þe crea-  
 turis þat bene betwix heu en and hel  
 shulde fight ayens myne oonly body.  
 Now trewly lorde I am wele apayed þat  
 95 þei do so, let hem rise lorde as þe seruau-  
 ntys of þin cur household, venge with  
 maistry her lord & her maker of me,  
 þis stronge fregmed wreche þat so tray-  
 tourly hathe ben cause of my lordis tur-  
 100 ment. Here shalt þou sighe & sorow as  
 þu diddist bifore, hauyn e gostely  
 mynde of his precious passion, wounde  
 by wounde, to þe holow of his hert.  
 But by cause þat þese thre kyndenes  
 105 before named, þat is to sey, of þi ma-  
 kyng, of his markynde takyng, &  
 of his precious passion han bene generally  
 done to all oþer as wele as to þe; þerfore [f. 98<sup>r</sup>]  
 shalt þou aftir þis haue speciall mynde  
 110 of some special kyndenes doon to þin  
 oonly body byfore many oþer & sey þus:  
 Good swete lord Ihesu crist, how many  
 as worthy, and a thousandfold more wor-  
 thy þan I, haue be suffrid of þe to dye,



- 115 modris wombis] moder wombe P.
- 116 aftir] after here burthe USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. to] om. S.
- 118 heþenes] mysbileue P. dethe] om.U.
- 119 & to] and so to USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P.
- 120 swete ... crist] om. P. crist] om. US. am ... thyn]  
and y am clepid of þyn P; om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 121 ouer] owen P.
- 122 brought] am broust USL<sub>1</sub>. folde ... chirche] holy-  
churche P.
- 123 a shepe] on P.
- 124 pasturyng ... be] om. P.
- 125 all] þat USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>; þe P. vengeance] dampnacion  
USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P.
- 126 mysbileuyng] fals mysbileuyng men P. Here] Then  
here Ar.
- 127 lord] om. P. god] om. Ar. maist] canne þat þis myche  
hath done for þe Ar.
- 128 shalt þou] þow schalt US. þus] þis Ar.
- 129 mouth ... grace (l. 130)] a blessyd lorde þer hath  
bene mony a creature þat hathe be more acceptabeler  
Ar. more ... am (l. 130)] worthier þan y, so & fer  
more able to grace P.
- 130 am, by cause] am in þi sight, and hathe be cause Ar.
- 131 mo] om. P. dedis aftir baptyme] dedes doon after  
here baptem USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P; dedus after þer baptym Ar.
- 132 eny] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar. aftir myne] om. Ar. han] om.  
USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 133 bene] the whiche bethe Ar. rightwisely suffrid]  
ristfully suffred USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar; ristfully of þe swete  
lord suffred P. my] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>ArP.
- 134 hedid] be ded L<sub>1</sub>, stikid] or stiked P.
- 135 drenchid ... synn (l. 136)] drenched in dedly synne,  
or som sodeyn deþ P. drenchid] drownyd Ar.
- 136 so] summe L<sub>1</sub>. to] in T<sub>1</sub>. to ... fire (l. 137)] for  
euer more Ar.

- 115    some in her modris wombis and some  
       sone aftir bifore eny baptym, and so to be  
       dampned to endeles derknes, and some to  
       lyue in her hepenes to here dethe day  
       & to be dampned to endel s peyne. And
- 120    I swete lord Ihesu crist am clepid of thyn  
       ouer habudant godenes & þorcus þe grace  
       of baptyme. brought in to þi folde, þe  
       whiche is holi chirche, to be a shepe of  
       þi flok pasturyng in þi l w, þer to be keped
- 125    saued from all apert vengeance of all  
       mysbileuynge. Here shalt þou thanke  
       þi lord god as hertly as þou maist and  
       aftir shalt þou thynk þus & sey with þi  
       mouth: Iow many more worthy and
- 130    fer more able to grace þan I am, by cause [f. 98<sup>v</sup>]  
       of many mo good dedis aftir baptyme  
       þan I haue eny doon aftir myne, han  
       bene rightwisely suffrid of þe my swete  
       lorde, some to be hangyd or hedid, stikid
- 135    or drenchid, or sodeynly dede in some dede-  
       ly synn, and so to be dampned to endelis

- 137 sikerly ... he] verely gode mercyfulle lorde, y  
may thynke & say bothe Ar.
- 138 thousande more worthy] þousendfold worþier & wyser  
P. more] more more L<sub>1</sub>. worthy] worthier Ar. I  
maue] I am haan USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 139 boillynge] welllyng P.
- 140 þerfor] om. P. won] brenne þerynne P. þou] god P.  
be in heuen (l. 141)] be 'hed' in hevyn Ar.
- 142 myn ... body] om. Ar. hast þou] þou hast Ar.
- 143 lord] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar. cle id] callyd Ar. ...  
to þe] vn to þe Ar; into P.
- 144 penance] repentaunce USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 145 kept ... dome (l. 149)] 'savyd, y hope to' þi grete  
mercy Ar. from] fro U<sup>L</sup>L<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 147 þis] þis lif USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>P. from] fro USL<sub>1</sub>P. þat] þe P.
- 149 þer] Heere USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>ArP.
- 150 maist] canst or maist P; can Ar. aftirward] after  
shalt P. þus] þis Ar.
- 151 Lorde ... [Text of P no longer follows Ed and  
related texts; see Appendix I for divergent text  
of P].
- 153 may not] cannot Ar. for] of USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar. vnnowmmbrable]  
innumerable USAr.
- 155 wil ... þe (l. 156)] wille and alle þe preysynge &  
thankyng þat y canne make is as it were no thyng in  
compareson, in recumpens vn to þi gode 'grace' Ar.
- 156 for] of US. ouerhaboundant] grete a boundant Ar.  
kyndenes] goodnesse & kyndenesse USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 157 doon] shewyd Ar. vnto] to USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. me. Now (l. 158)]  
me, and yet i þis stynkyng wreccche, vnnethes kan  
see þise greete kyndenessees doon to me. Now USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>;  
me, and yet y so sympulle a wrecch vn nethe canne se  
& perseue þis grete kyndnes done to me. Nowe Ar.
- 158 lorde] gode lorde Ar. worthy to be] worthy of my  
deserte sauynge þi grete mercy to be Ar.
- 159 killyd] slayn USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>; & slayne Ar. or] other US.  
hangyd] hangyd up Ar. a] & Ar. but for] sauynge Ar.

fire. The sikerly lorde it may be þat a  
 thousande more worthy þan I haue be  
 lawfully dampned to þe illynge pit of  
 140 hel, þerfor to won as longe as þou shalt be  
 in heuen for, fewer synnes an I haue  
 doon myn oonly body, and yit hast þou  
 my swete lord Ihesu cle id me ayen to þe  
 grace of penance in þis life þorough þe  
 145 whiche I may be kept and saued from  
 all apert vengeance in this life, and  
 aftir þis from þat horrible dampnacion  
 of all fals cristen en in þe day of dome.  
 Þer shalt þou thanke þi lord as hertly as  
 150 þou maist & aftirward thynk þus and  
 sey with þi mouth: Lorde god fadir of  
 mercy and of comfort what shal I do, for [f. 99<sup>r</sup>]  
 I may not make amendis for myn vn-  
 nowmmbrable synnes þat I haue wrecchid-  
 155 ly wrought ayens þi wil. I may not  
 thank þe for þe cuerhaboundant kyndenes  
 þat þou haste graciously doon vnto me.  
 Now trewly lorde I war worthy to be  
 dede, killyd or hangyd as a hound, but for

- 160 sie my self] sie me my self USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. self ... not]  
self, and þi commaundment is also þat y shulde not  
Ar.
- 161 lorde god] gode lorde Ar.
- 162 wrecchidly ... y (1. 166)] wrecchidly ofte tymys haue  
disobeyed þi lawys & commaundementis and if it please  
not þi gode grace to slee me with þi nowne handys,  
y Ar.
- 163 vnto] to USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. And it be so (1. 164)] And þef it  
so bee USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 169 vengeance] correccion Ar. vpon] on Ar. and ... may  
(1. 175)] in what wyse þcu wilte so þat it may be to  
þi blessyd plesure & 'my' saluacion, and Ar. þi]  
'þi' L<sub>1</sub>.
- 172 by] bec SL<sub>1</sub>. þe] þi USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 173 to] for to USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. me] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. dampne]  
dampnede USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 175 may] may doo USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. Here] And here Ar. to] vnto  
Ar. þe ... as] þe mercifulle lorde as Ar.
- 177 in] and USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar. life] lif tyme Ar.
- 178 from] fro USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar. seruice ... wil (1. 179)]  
seruyce as ny as my fraelle disposicion wille Ar.  
All] And USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 179 suffre] suffur me Ar. and specially] om. Ar.
- 180 mynde] myn USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>; om. Ar. whiche] whiche freelte  
USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar. beseche] be sech þi grete mercy to  
stedfaste Ar. þe ... Amen (1. 181)] om. Ar. for  
to] to USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>.
- 181 þe] þi USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. of] for USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>. Þere] Heere  
USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>; Then here Ar.
- 182 down] om. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 183 hertely and as mekely] meekly and as hertly USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>;  
mekely & as lowly Ar.
- 184 maist] canne Ar. vp] up agene Ar.
- 186 faire he] fair þat he USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 187 lordely] lowly Ar. he] þat he USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar.
- 188 all] om. T<sub>1</sub>.

- 160 I may not sle my silf, and also I shuld not;  
þerfore I beseche þe lorde god almyghty  
 þat þou wilt sle me þi silf þat so wrecc-  
 hidly hath done vnto þe. And it be  
 so þat þi grete pite & þi grete gode-  
 165 nes so bynde in þi rightwisenes þat þou  
 like not to slee me þi silf, þan I beseche  
 þe þat þou wilt send þin aungel of right-  
 wisenes with his brennyng swerde to  
 take vengeance vpon me, and if þi myche  
 170 mekenes and þi grete mercy wole not suf-  
 fer þe to fulfil þe vengeance þat I haue  
 deserued, and me ought not by þe lawe  
 lorde to slee me my silf, for 'þan' dampne I  
 my soule, þan wil I do þat in me is and [f. 99<sup>v</sup>]  
 175 all þat I may. Here I yelde me to þe as  
 þi bondeman & þi prisoner & þi perpetuall ser-  
 uaunt in all þe days of my life neuer to de-  
 part from þi seruice. All þis lorde wil I do  
 as mannes frelty wil suffre and specially  
 180 mynde þe whiche I beseche þe for to strenkeþ  
 with þe grace of þi myche mercy, Amen. Þere  
 shalt þou falle down to þe ground and  
 yelde þe to hym as hertely and as mekely  
 as þou maist, and aftir þat sit vp and  
 185 rest þe thenkyng þus: How good þat  
 god is in hym silf, and how faire he  
 is in his aungels, and how lordely he go-  
 uerneth all his creaturis, and aftir þat how

- 189 his] om.  $L_1$ .
- 190 he is to] he is in  $UL_1T_1$ ; he is in his S; a pon Ar.
- 191 with mouth] mouth  $ST_1Ar$ . withouten] and without Ar.
- 1 2 faillynge] feynynge  $USL_1T_1$ ; faynynge with alle þine  
hole substans Ar. My ... swete Ihesu (1. 193)] My  
goode ihesu haue mercy on me. My faire ihesu haue  
mercy on me. My lord ihesu haue mercy on me. My  
swete ihesu haue mercy on me  $USL_1T_1Ar$ .
- 194 vpon] on  $USL_1T_1Ar$ .
- 195 me, þough] me Ihesu þough  $USL_1T_1Ar$ . on] in  $USL_1T_1Ar$ .  
all] alle þe creatures  $UST_1$ ; alle oþer creaturis Ar;  
alle creatures  $L_1$ .
- 196 qwike] bothe quicke Ar. whome] whiche  $USL_1T_1$ ; þe  
whiche Ar. bought] dure bowtte Ar.

swete he is in his louers & last of all how  
 190 mercyful he is to syn ers. And þan sey þus  
 boiþ with hert & with mouth withouten  
 eny failynge: My Ihesu, my faire Ihesu, my  
 iorde Ihesu, my swete Ihesu, my mercyful Ihesu  
 haue mercy vpon me, and not oonly on  
 195 me, þough I haue moste nede, but on all  
 qwike and dede whome þou hast bought [f. 100<sup>r</sup>]  
 with þi precious blode, ameN.



## Notes

- 1 Here ... synne. P's reading 'Meditacio bona', which appears as the title, may have been suggested by a reading similar to that of US: 'Heere bigynneth a ful good meditacion ....' Alternatively the scribe of P may have found the meditation to be a good one and thought it deserved such a title. The scribe of Ed does not share US's incipit and has, apparently, derived its incipit from the text itself calling it 'a tretice þat is þe stabile of synne'.

- 5 stable (see also 'stabile', line 1). Of the seven extant copies of 'The Stathel of Sin', three read 'stathel' (U, S, T<sub>1</sub>), one 'scapil' (L<sub>1</sub>), one 'stable' (Ed), one 'filþe' (P), and one 'wrecchyndes' (Ar).

The variation in L might be accounted for in palaeographic terms, for 'scapil' could be a scribal attempt to make sense of an ambiguously formed 'stathel', a good example of which survives in U. The 'long-s' is ligatured to the short, and in U's case, near truncated t: the resulting ligature -- st -- could be mistaken for sc. As it happens there is a possible alternative form available to the scribe, see O.E.D. s.v. Scath 1 a. Also absol. as sb.

'Injurious, harmful, dangerous'. Such a sense is more obvious, at first, than is 'stathel' (see O.E.D. Stathel s.v. Staddle sb. 1): 'A foundation. lit. and fig.'. L<sub>1</sub> does have some support, however, for its reading of 'scapil' as the injury or harm of sin, for P reads 'þe filþe of synne', and Ar has 'þe wrecchyndes of þi synnys'. These various readings -- 'scapil', 'filþe', and 'wrecchyndes' -- may also be seen, however, as scribal attempts at clarification of the slightly unusual usage of 'stathel' applied to the ineradicable nature of Sin.

As noted above 'stathel' means a foundation, both literally and figuratively, and it is the figurative sense implied in the 'stathe' of synne', for the treatise itself deals with that residual foundation of sin in man 'þe which will alwey leue in þe aftir þi confession' -- Original Sin. Ed's reading 'stable' (or 'stabile', line 2) is more difficult to explain. The only attested substantival use is that of 'A building ... in which horses are kept', and this, while admissible in a metaphorical sense in line 2, does not seem to be the intended sense in line 5: that is, how would one covet 'to be mayde clene in soule ... of all þe stable of synne'? There is a possible but conjectural explanation which will account for Ed's 'stable': 'stable' may, possibly, be a scribal misreading of 'staple': the scribe of Ed seeing an h-like þ was confronted with, perhaps, two unknown words, 'stahle'

and 'stable', and having to choose between two unknowns, he equivocated and interpreted the h-like shape as a b, thus providing himself with a word he knew, or had seen before.

- 21 til þe thyнк. S reads 'al þe tyme þat þe þinke', but in the margin, and in a different hand, there has been added 'til'. There does not seem to be any mark indicating where 'til' is to go, and as it follows 'tyme' (the last word in the column) I have placed it between 'tyme' and 'þat'. S's reading does not occur elsewhere.
- 38 The scribe of Ar has written 'fowle rusti' above 'synnys fro' and marked its place for insertion with a caret.
- 43 haue ... kyndenes. The scribe of P originally wrote: 'haue mynde of þe kyndenesse of þi lord'.
- 44 The scribe of Ar has written 'hathe' above and between 'he' and 'done', and marked its place with a caret.
- 49 The scribe of Ar has written 'grete' above 'mercy' and marked its place with a caret.
- 59 Þer. The text of Ed reads 'þer' at lines 59, 77, 149, 181, and 'Heere' at lines 100, and 126; all other texts consistently read 'Heere'. If we assume, for the moment, that the scribe of Ed used as his immediate source a text much like the core group, then Ed's 'þer' is an interesting substitution which may well refer to the 'preuey place' of lines 13-15 -- 'in some preuey place by þi silf, & þere gadder to gedyr þe myghtes of þi soule' -- a place where the reader-sinner is to go and 'sighe and sorow' as he has done before (lines 59, 77), thank the lord as heartily as he may (line 149), and 'falle down to þe ground and yelde ... to hym as hertely and as mekely' as he may (line 181). The readings 'Here shalt þou sighe & sorow as þou diddist bifore' (lines 100-101), and 'Here shalt þou thanke þi lord god as hertly as þou maist' (lines 126-127) may be indicative of Ed's immediate source. It is worth remarking that in USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>ArP the repetition of 'Here' gives these tracts an immediacy, or urgency, lacking in Ed. Ed's use of 'þer' points to another place, and, possibly, to another time: the reader-sinner is to pray, sigh, sorrow, and submit 'þer', not 'here'.
- 82 þat ... mysbileuyng (line 126). The scribe of Ar has added a digressive meditation of one and a half folios on the wounds and passion of Christ; for the text of the meditation see Appendix I.

stronge. Ed's reading is to be contrasted with SL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>'s 'straunge', and U's 'straunche'. The readings of USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> are variant forms of 'strange', see O.E.D. s.v. Strange a. 'Stronge' is not listed as a variant form of 'strange', and may be considered as a substitution: Ed's exemplar or its immediate source may have had an ambiguous reading, for example 'strange' (a variant form of 'strong') which variously interpreted either would mean 'strange', 'foreign', 'alien', or 'strong', 'gross', 'flagrant', 'flagrantly guilty' (see O.E.D. s.v. Strong a. 11e). If the scribe of Ed interpreted 'fremmed' to mean 'foreign', 'strange', or 'unknown' (see O.E.D. s.v. Fremd a. 1, 2a), then he probably found 'strange' of 'strange fremmed' (i.e., foreign alien) redundant, and, seeking to avoid an apparent redundancy, he substituted 'stronge' for 'strange'. The confusion might not have arisen had the Ed scribe, or the scribe of its immediate source, interpreted 'fremmed' as 'not related, of another family or house; opposed to sib or kin' (see O.E.D. s.v. Fremd a. 4). Given this interpretation, the phrase 'his straunge fremde wrecche' (T<sub>1</sub>) would have the unambiguous meaning of a foreign, or alien wretch, unrelated to God's family. In T<sub>1</sub>USL<sub>1</sub> the reading 'straunge fremde' reinforces the paradox that a man is but may not finally be one of God's family: though man is a creation of God and stands in the same relationship to God as the child to its father, man is also capable through sin of severing for eternity that paternal link with his Father. Ed's 'stronge fremmed wreche', or flagrantly guilty alien wretch, while suggesting that man is somehow outside, or separated from, his creator, does not suggest, as do USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>, that man is potentially not part of God's family.

- 103 holow. 'Holow' may mean the 'internal cavity' of Christ's heart, but it might also mean 'the middle or depth' of His heart; this latter sense, however, is not attested before 1865, see O.E.D. s.v. Hollow sb. 3.  $T_1$  reads 'perlynge' see O.E.D. s.v. Purling vbl. sb.<sup>2</sup> 'The action of Purl v.<sup>2</sup>: chiefly referring to the sound'; see O.E.D. s.v. Purl v.<sup>2</sup> 'Of water, a brook, etc. To flow with whirling motion of its particles ...'. The earliest attestation for 'purling' is 1598, and for 'purl' it is 1591.
- 118 dethe. U's unique omission of 'dethe' is of textual interest. U, and usually S, agree in variation against most other texts, so when one or more of the other texts omit (vis-a-vis Ed) words or lines, US can be relied upon to support Ed; similarly, when Ed appears to 'omit' (vis-a-vis  $L_1T_1$ ) words or phrases US support  $L_1T_1$ . Finally, on the rare occasions when S has a unique omission (vis-a-vis Ed),  $UL_1T_1$  support Ed, thus suggesting that of the available texts U is the most useful in providing corroboration at crucial points.
- As U's omission here of 'dethe' is not supported by any other text, and as all other texts read 'dethe', it is not likely that U is the immediate source for these texts: if U is to be the immediate source for S, and perhaps  $L_1T_1$ , then it is necessary to postulate that the scribes of S,  $L_1$  and  $T_1$  independently of each other added 'dethe'. It is, on the whole, more likely that S,  $L_1T_1$ , (and U) drew upon the same immediate source, and that the scribe of U was, as far as the evidence suggests, more careful in his copying than the scribes of S,  $L_1T_1$ , save in this instance.
- 134 hedid. The scribe of  $L_1$  has apparently misread an h as a b (writing 'be ded' for 'hedid') for in  $L_1$ 's text there is a high degree of similarity between the letter shape of h and that of b; the resultant reading also makes sense, so it would not have been discovered by the scribe if he were rereading for sense.
- 140 The scribe of Ar has added 'hed' above and between 'be' and 'in', and has marked its place with a caret.
- 144 grace of penance.  $USL_1T_1Ar$  read 'grace of repentaunce', and are, theologically, more precise. Penance (punishment, penalty, or expiation) is a sacrament: 'The prydde sacrament is clepyd Penaunce þat is soþfast forthynkyng þat we haue for oure synnys wyþ-owt wyl or þost to turne agayn þerto.' The Lay Folks' Catechism, ed. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, E.E.T.S. O.S.cxviii (1901), 65, 67. As a sacrament it prepares one to receive God's grace, but grace is not a necessary consequence of receiving the sacrament, as John Wyclif, a harsh and unrelenting critic of the

Church's control of the Sacrament of Penance, was quick to point out in his 'Nota de Confessione': 'ffor god, þat ȝyueþ grace & is in þe soule, assoyleth & doþ a-vey synne, and þis may not þe prest do, siþ it is propur to god', F.D. Matthew, ed., The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted, E.E.T.S. O.S. lxxiv (1880), 333. Wyclif is slightly extreme in his denial of the efficacy of confession, to a priest, but he is, in the main, theologically accurate when he says that God gives grace, absolves, and does away with sin. Grace does not reside in nor flow from penance; however, repentance is prior to penance, and in repentance the sinner can be said to have discovered, or felt, the working of grace in himself: he is, in the act of repentance, turning toward God and His grace, if He chooses to give it.

- 159 Lorde ... end of text. P no longer parallels Ed, or any other text; see Appendix I for text of P.
- 169 (1) The scribe of Ar has written 'my' above and between '&' and 'saluacion', and marked its place with a caret.
- (2) þi. The scribe of L<sub>1</sub> has added 'þi' in the left-hand margin of the manuscript, and placed a caret between 'ȝef' and 'mychel'.
- 180 mynde þe whiche I beseche þe for to strenkeþ. Ed's reading is to be contrasted with that of USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>: 'myn, þe whiche freelte i. biseche þee to strengthe'. In Ed, the plea is to God to strengthen 'specially mynde' and in USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub> it is to strengthen 'specially myn [freelte]'; the emphasis in Ed is shifted from the earlier 'mannes frelty' to, presumably, '[mannes] mynde', the centre, or seat, of man's understanding, and the faculty to which 'þe grace of ... myche mercy' is directed.
- 186 faire. The scribe of Ar has written 'fayr' above and between 'howe' and 'þat', and marked its place with a caret.
- 192 faillynge. USL<sub>1</sub>T<sub>1</sub>Ar read 'feynyngge'. If the reading in Ed is a deliberate substitution for 'feynyngge' then it is possible that the scribe of Ed (or its immediate source) sought to temper the suggestion of insincerity at the very place (in a devotional treatise) where it ought not to be present: at this stage -- the culmination of the meditation -- 'feynyngge' might become a distraction.

## Sources and Analogues

- 3 Cf. The Cloud of Unknowing, ed. P. Hodgson, E.E.T.S. O.S. ccxviii (Rev. rpt. 1973; 1944), 64, lines 10-13:

& þerfore, who-so coueitþ to come to clennes  
þat he lost for synne, & to wynne to þat welþe  
þer alle wo wantiþ, him bihouiþ bidingly to  
trauayle in þis werke, & suffre þe pyne þerof,  
what-so-euer þat he be, wheþer he haue ben a  
customable sinner or none.

- 6 Cf. The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 68, lines 4-5:

For þat pyne schal always last on þee to þi  
deep day, be þou neuer so beset.

- 14 Cf. The Cloud of Unknowing, p. 121, lines 5-7, and Hodgson's notes:

& on þe same maner, wher anoþer man wolde bid  
þee gader þi mistes & þi wittes holiche  
wiþ-inne þi-self, & worschip God þere

- 33 Cf. Apocalypse xx, 7:

And when the thousand years shall be finished,  
Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and  
shall go forth, and seduce the nations, which  
are over the four quarters of the earth, Go<sup>g</sup>,  
and Magog, and shall gather them together to  
battle, the number of whom is as the sand of  
the sea.

- 49 Cf. Genesis, ix, 6:

Whosoever shall shed man's blood, his blood  
shall be shed: for man was made to the image  
of God.

- 124 Cf. 1 Peter v, 2:

Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking  
care of it, not by constraint, but willingly,  
according to God: not for filthy lucre's sake,  
but voluntarily.

151 Cf. Psalm xxxix, 12-13:

12 Withhold not thou, O Lord, thy tender mercies from me: thy mercy and thy truth have always upheld me.

13 For evils without number have surrounded me; my iniquities have overtaken me, and I was not able to see.

They are multiplied above the hairs of my head: and my heart hath forsaken me.

167 Cf. Genesis iii, 24:

And he cast out Adam; and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.